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A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
LANGUAGES, LITERATURE,
AND MANNERS OF
EASTERN NATIONS.

Originally prefixed to a DICTIONARY,
PERSIAN, ARABIC, and ENGLISH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

PART II.

Containing ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS.

TOGETHER WITH

FURTHER REMARKS ON

A New Analysis of Ancient Mythology :

IN ANSWER TO

An APOLOGY, addressed to the Author, by
JACOB BRYANT, Esq.

By JOHN RICHARDSON, Esq. F.S.A.
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE,
AND OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

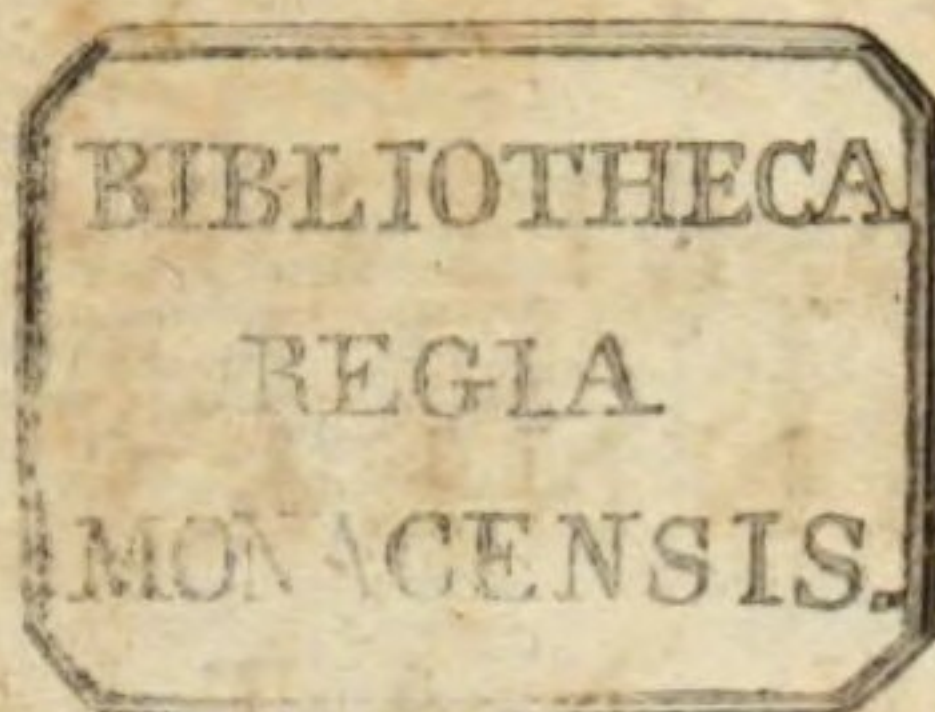
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A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
LANGUAGES, LITERATURE,
AND
MANNERS
OF
EASTERN NATIONS.

CHAP. I.
OF EASTERN LANGUAGE.

SECT. I.

The connexion of Language with Manners. The origin of antient tongues involved in darkness. Short history of the Arabic. The character now in use invented in the tenth century,

THE Manners of Mankind must ever form an interesting enquiry. In every age and climate they display a wonderful diversity of character ; and exhibit a picture so variously coloured, that we are convinced by experience alone, that the great original of the whole is Man. In all investiga-

tions of this important subject, Language claims a superior degree of attention : in many points it will be found a most unerring guide ; and, when viewed on philosophic ground, may be considered as one great barometer of the barbarity or civilization of a people. A poverty of dialect is generally accompanied by savageness and ignorance : refinement is only advanced by a general diffusion of knowledge ; and knowledge must necessarily be confined within narrow limits, till written language has conveyed it through every order of men. No authority can, at the same time, so decisively fix the peculiar habits and pursuits of a nation as the sounds by which they articulate their ideas. The vanity of a traveller may heighten a plain story into the marvellous ; and the credulity of a historian may give a currency to the fiction : but, when radical words, in any tongue, are expressive of certain customs, objects, and modes of thinking ; our reason cannot, for a moment, entertain a doubt of their existence. *

INTO this train of thought I have been led, by that minute attention to the analysis of the Persian and Arabic idioms, which the construction of my work unavoidably required : and I was willing to soften the extreme painfulness of incessant labour, on a subject naturally dry, by occasionally tracing, together

with Eastern language, the opposition and coincidence of Asiatic and European customs. Some points will of consequence be touched, which, at first view, may have no apparent tendency to advance the acquisition of those tongues : yet the mere science of words is, after all, but the outline of language ; whilst the colouring and expression are only to be found in the virtues and the genius, in the vices and the follies of a people. In the course of this enquiry I shall have occasion, at the same time, to doubt of many received opinions ; and to question the positions of some superior men : whose want of knowledge in the languages of the East has produced much false reasoning ; whilst their attachment to system has heaped error upon error, and raised splendid fabricks upon pillars of ice. ^b

THE origin of Ancient Tongues, like all research into high antiquity, is naturally involved in perplexity and darkness ; and every disquisition, however ingenious, must rest at last on the uncertain basis of fancy and conjecture. Yet, on this visionary field, learned and pious men have disputed with much want of temper. The original language of man has been considered as an interesting pursuit ; and advocates have been found for the superior claim of every ancient tongue : Adam has

been taught dialects he never knew ; and the language even of Omnipotence they have not blushed to determine with precision. To pierce through the obscurity of those distant periods, seems however above the powers of man ; and to have no other tendency, than unprofitably to bewilder the human understanding. I shall avoid therefore those unknown regions, through which there appears no guide ; and confine myself to the simple information of reason and probability. °

THE source of the *Arabic* language lies far beyond historic proof. Grammarians carry the older dialect to the family of Heber, the fourth in descent from Noah : and the more modern to Ishmael, the son of Abraham. These are Arabian tales : yet they apparently furnish this strong conclusion ; That when nations have recourse to fable and tradition for the epoch of an invention, no period, within the demonstration of record, can possibly be found to fix its more exact commencement. Though rude perhaps in its origin, and gradual in its progress to improvement, the richness of the Arabic has been long proverbial ; and many circumstances have concurred to render it not only the most copious of any known tongue ; but to preserve it uncorrupted

amidst all the political and literary revolutions of surrounding states. ^d

THE Arabians were never conquered. The Romans, the Persians, and the Ethiopians, made indeed, at different times, impressions upon particular districts: but they were all too slight, and of too short duration, to introduce any material alteration into their government, their language, or their manners. From very early times, this immense peninsula was divided into many states; some independent, and others tributary to the Tobbas or Hemyaret sovereigns of Arabia Felix. In those states many different dialects prevailed; the principal of which were the *Hemyaret* and the *Koreish*. The first, though the language of the most powerful of the Arabian princes, appears however to have been little cultivated by the independent tribes; or even by those who paid them a feudal obedience: a remarkable instance of which is related by Moham-
medan writers. An envoy from a feudatory state having been sent to the Tobba, that prince, when he was introduced, pronounced the word *T'heb*; which in the Hemyaret implied *Be seated*: unhappily it signified, *Precipitate yourself* in the native dialect of the Ambassador; who, with a singular deference for the orders of his sovereign, without hesi-

tation or enquiry, threw himself instantly from the castle wall, and perished. °

THE Koreish tribe were the noblest and the most learned of all the Western Arabs : they were also the greatest merchants, and carried on an extensive commerce with every adjacent state : whilst the Kaaba, or Square Temple of Mecca, which, before the era of Mohammed, was solely under their guardianship, drew annually a great concourse of pilgrims from every Arabian tribe, and from every country where the Sabian religion prevailed. Where many strangers are accustomed to assemble at stated times, politeness and refinement are a natural consequence. Numbers of the pilgrims were people of the first rank, and possessed of all the science peculiar to their country or their age. Great fairs were held during their residence ; and a variety of gay amusements filled up the intervals of their religious duties. Of those entertainments, literary compositions held the most distinguished rank ; every man of genius considering not his own reputation alone, but even that of his nation or his tribe, as interested in his success. Poetry and rhetoric were chiefly cultivated and admired : the first being looked upon as highly ornamental ; and the other, as a necessary accomplishment in the education of every leading man. An assem-

bly at a place called *Ocadh*, had been established, in consequence, about the end of the sixth century; where all were admitted to a rivalry of genius. The merits of their respective productions were impartially determined by the assembly at large; and the most approved of their poems, written on silk, in characters of gold, were, with much solemnity, suspended in the temple; as the highest mark of honour which could be conferred on literary men. These poems were called *Moallakat* (suspended), or *Modhabebat* (golden). Seven of them are in many European libraries, being the compositions of *Amralkeis*, *Tarafa*, *Zobeir*, *Lebid*, *Antara*, *Amru*, and *Hareth*.

A STORY told of *Lebid* and *Mohammed* displays the genius and manners of the Arabians in those days. It was customary for the great poets to fix, upon the gate of the temple, distichs, or longer compositions, as a general challenge against the next meeting of the *Ocadh* assembly. *Lebid* had put up a couplet there, which was thought so sublime, that none would hazard any thing in competition: till *Mohammed* at length placing by it the opening of the second chapter of the *Alcoran*, *Lebid* no sooner saw it, than he conceived it to be something divine; tore down his own verses; and immediately, from being a de-

terminated enemy to the new religion, became one of Mohammed's firmest and most powerful friends. He was particularly useful in answering the lampoons of the prince Amralkeis, who continued, till his death, one of the prophet's keenest and most formidable opponents.*

FROM this uncommon attention to promote emulation, and to refine their language, the dialect of the Koreish became the purest, the richest, and the most polite of all the Arabian idioms. It was studied therefore in preference to all the rest; and about the beginning of the seventh century, became the general language of Arabia: the other dialects being either incorporated, or sliding gradually into disuse. By this singular idiomatic union, like the confluence of many streams into one large river, the Arabic has acquired an uncommon fullness: whilst the luxuriance of synonymes; and the equivocal or opposite senses of the same or similar words; have furnished their writers with a wonderful power of indulging, in the fullest range, their favourite passion for antithesis and quaint allusion. Examples of the contrary senses, in which the same words are received, may be found in almost every page of the Dictionary; but a short anecdote from the history of the Khalifs will

show how much Eastern genius pointed to such distinctions. ^b

THE great Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghezna, was the son of a slave ; but having stretched his conquests over a great part of India and Tartary, in the beginning of the eleventh century, he sent an ambassador to the Khalif Alkader, requesting from that prince, as the fountain of honour among the Mohammedans, a title suitable to his rank and power. The Khalif, on account of the meanness of his origin, declined compliance for twelve months : till urged by the ambassador, and dreading Mahmoud's resentment, he sent him at length the ambiguous title *ولی* *veli*, which implies, *A prince, a friend*, and also *a slave*. Mahmoud easily penetrated into the Khalif's meaning ; and sent immediately 100,000 pieces of gold, with a wish to know, Whether a letter had not been omitted. Alkader understood him, and soon after dispatched letters patent in full form, creating him *والي* *vali* ; which signifies, without equivocation, *a Sovereign independent Prince*. ⁱ

As the Pagan Arabians had a number of dialects, they had also a variety of characters ; but all of them so perplexed in their formation, and so difficult in their use ; that, about the beginning of the seventh century,

they adopted the invention of *Moramer Ebn Morra*, a native of Babylonian Irak. In this character the Alcoran was originally written : it was afterwards improved under the denomination of *Cufik* ; and continued in use till the appearance of the *Niskhi*, in the tenth century of our era. As this new mode of writing soon universally prevailed, the other gradually declined ; and it is now only to be found in the manuscripts and inscriptions of the first ages of the Hejra. The *Niskhi*, which, with some variation or corruption, is the same which now prevails in Arabia, Persia, India, and other Eastern countries, is generally ascribed to *Ebn Moklah*, vizir to the Khalifs Al Moktader, Al Kaher, and Arradi, who reigned from 908 to 940 of our era : but it afterwards underwent the alterations and improvements of many eminent penmen of distinguished rank ; particularly of *Nezam* and *Tograi*, vizirs to the Sultans Jelaleddin and Masud ; and of *Yakut*, secretary to Al Mostafem, the last of the Khalifs of Bagdad. 2

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

Strictures on the language of Ancient Persia.

The inconsistencies of various writers with regard to Zoroaster and his works. The Sadder published by Dr. Hyde ; and the Zend Avesta by Du Perron not authentic. The Zend language not genuine. Observations on the Farfi and Pehlavi dialects. The specimens of old Persian in the Religio Veterum Persarum simply modern language in ancient characters.

THE language spoken anciently in Persia opens a wide field for unsatisfactory enquiry. Dr. Hyde derives it from that of Media ; which is much the same as deducing one jargon of the Saxon Heptarchy from another. The union of those people, named by Europeans, *the Medes and Persians*, is of such high antiquity, that it is lost in darkness ; and long precedes every glimmering we can discover of the origin of their speech : whatever their language was, therefore, it must have evidently been very early the same, with the

simple and common variation of provincial idiom. But in this tongue we have no genuine remains. We are told, indeed, that it was the language in which Zoroaster promulgated his religion and laws; but this advances not our enquiry: for where or when did Zoroaster live? and where do the works which have been attributed to him exist? The writers both of the East and West speak so vaguely, and differ so pointedly, with regard to this personage, that it is compleatly impossible to fix either the country or the period which gave him birth: whilst the *Zeratusht* of the Persians bears so little resemblance to the Zoroaster of the Greeks, that unless Dr. Hyde, and other Orientalists, had resolved, at all events, to reconcile the identity of their persons, we should have much difficulty to discover a single similar feature. Those fragments of his supposed works which the learned Doctor has given us, under the title of the *Sadder*, are the wretched rhymes of a modern Parfi Destour (priest), who lived about three centuries ago: from that work we cannot then have even the glimpse of an original tongue, nor any thing authentic of the genius of the law-giver: whilst the publications of M. Anquetil du Perron (Oriental interpreter to the king of France) carry palpable marks of the

total or partial fabrication of modern times : and give great weight to the opinion of Sir John Chardin ; That the old dialect of Persia (excepting what remains in the present language) is lost ; that apparently no books now exist in it ; and that the jargon and characters of the Parfis of Carmania and Guzerat are barbarous corruptions or inventions of the Guebre priests ; without the least similitude to the inscriptions still discernible on the ancient ruins of Persepolis. *

IN support of Chardin's general idea, I shall make a few observations on M. Anquetil's *Zend Avesta*. In the first place, The number of Arabic words, found both in his *Zend* and *Pehlvi* dialects, furnishes one strong presumption of their modern date ; as no Arabic was introduced into the Persian idiom earlier than the seventh century of the Christian era. ^b

Secondly, THE harsh texture of the *Zend* seems to be opposite to the genius of Persian pronunciation ; and apparently incompatible with their organs of speech. There are certain sounds, to which we find some nations have an invincible antipathy. The French, the Italians, and other foreigners, can hardly ever be taught to articulate the English *th*. The Persians, if possible, entertain even a greater aversion to a sound somewhat similar, (or ra-

ther *t'h*, with a strong aspiration) ; and have accordingly, in every word adopted from the Arabic, changed it uniformly to *s*. But in M. Anquetil's Zend, the words in which it occurs are uncommonly numerous ; and, in his alphabet, we have a character, which, to leave no doubt of the sound he means to give it, he illustrates, by placing it on a line with the Arabic *ث* *th* or *t'h*. The *Farfi* and *Pehlavi* dialects, he says, at the same time, were sister descendants from the Zend ; and had come off the parent stock previous to the era of Zoroaster : in that idea they must all have been spoken in Persia at the same period : but neither in the Pehlavi, the Farfi, or in the more modern Persian, is there a character to be found in the most distant degree expressive of this sound. That men may be taught to conquer a defect in speech, we know is possible ; but that a people should have powers to articulate with facility, in one cotemporary dialect, sounds which they found impracticable in another, is a supposition justified by no example, and diametrically inconsistent with all the laws of nature. ‘

Thirdly, It does not appear to have the most distant radical resemblance to the modern dialect of Persia : a circumstance which all observation declares to be impossible, had it ever

existed as an ancient Persian idiom. No convulsions of government, no efforts of the learned, can ever so far alter a language, as to deface every line of resemblance between the speech of the present day and that of even the remotest ancestry: nothing but the absolute extirpation of the aboriginal natives can apparently accomplish so singular a revolution. If we look into the languages of modern Europe, we shall discover every where the strongest features of their Gothic or Celtic original; amidst all the refinement of Roman and Grecian embellishment. If we examine the dialect of the modern Greeks, notwithstanding their slavish subjection to the despotism of the Turks, we shall find corruption has but slightly disguised the original tongue. When we view the Syriac, long after that country had been under the rule of Alexander's successors, the texture we perceive unaltered; a slight mixture of Grecian words making all the difference. When we compare the modern Persian with the idiom which prevailed during the Sassanian dynasty, we observe it now only enriched by a copious introduction of Arabic words; yet still retaining every characteristic feature which it possessed before the Mohammedan conquest. But the Zend, so far from having the least similitude to one of the most

regular languages in the world, has more the air of a *Lingua Franca*, culled from the dialects of every surrounding country; grouped together with little pretension to grammatical propriety; and more pointedly resembling the spells of Necromancers, than the language of a people, famed at all times for the melody of their accents. ^d

THE last reason I shall offer, on this ground, is the uncommon stupidity of the work itself. The *Zeratusht* of Persia, or the *Zoroaster* of the Greeks, was highly celebrated by the most discerning people of ancient times; and his tenets, we are told, were most eagerly and rapidly embraced by the highest in rank, and the wisest men in the Persian empire. But could his success have possibly been so remarkable, had his religion breathed only the most jejune puerilities; without one ray of genius to rescue it from contempt? without a sentiment that could elevate the soul, or give one dignified idea of Omnipotence? What is thrown into the notes from the *Vendidad Sadé*, will give a specimen of the whole. It is by no means selected as the worst: on that ground my choice must have been much perplexed. It first struck my fancy; and my partiality for it was confirmed, merely from it's being shorter than many others, which had even a

superior claim to disgrace the human understanding. From the whole therefore I remain at present of opinion, that M. Anquetil has made no discovery which can stamp his publications with authority. He brings no evidence of the least antiquity; and we are only disgusted with the frivolous superstition and never-ending ceremonies of the modern Worshippers of Fire. °

I SHALL now proceed to make some observations on the modern idiom of Persia; and to point out the origin of that singular and intimate connection which it has long maintained with the language of Arabia. Early in Persia, as in every wide extended empire, there were many provincial dialects, distinguished chiefly by the names of those provinces where they were spoken: the principal of which were the *Parsi* or *Farfi*, and the *Pehlavi*. The first was the dialect of Farsistan (Persia Proper), and had an extensive range over the most civilized of the lower districts: whilst the Pehlavi prevailed chiefly around the Mazenderan or Caspian Sea, and in the more mountainous dependencies of the empire. So rude however was the Pehlavi considered, that, after having been discountenanced at court as early, it is said, as the reign of Bahaman, about 400 years before Christ, it

was at length proscribed in a formal edict by Behram Gur, in the fifth century of our era; and soon after ceased to be a living language. The *Farfi*, on this event, as it had long been the principal, became now the only language of Persia; being subdivided into the *Zebani Deri*, or the language of the court, and the *Zebani Farfi*, the dialect of Persia at large. It is to this language, which seems to have been peculiarly cultivated by the great and the learned above twelve hundred years before the Mohammedan era, that we should apparently point our researches for Persian literature previous to that period: and not to the uncourtly Pehlavi. So early neglected by the superior orders of men, and confined entirely amongst the boorish mountaineers and unlettered peasants, it appears to be equally improbable, that men of genius should have preferred this rude idiom to the polished *Deri*; as to suppose a Voltaire to have written in the Bas Breton; or an Addison in the most rugged of our county dialects. ^f

THE *Deri* was improved with uncommon care by the Sassanian princes; many of whom, as well as their vizirs and great officers, published works in it: which, though at present hardly known, are mentioned with high approbation by succeeding writers. Amongst

the chief of those royal and noble authors was Ardeshir Babegan, the first prince of this dynasty, who began his reign A. D. 202. He wrote a *Karnamé*, or journal of his public and private life : and also a work of morality ; which being afterwards improved by Noushirvan the Just, (who flourished in the sixth century), was sent by him to all his governors, as the invariable rule of their conduct. The *Zefer namé*, written by Bouzour, vizir to Noushirvan, is better known ; having been modernized by the celebrated physician and vizir Avicenna, about the beginning of the eleventh century. Those books, could they now be recovered in their original language, would apparently be an acquisition far superior to a thousand such volumes as M. Anquetil's *Zend Avesta*. Exclusive of their intrinsic value, with regard to Persian History, manners, politics, and morals, they would shew the precise distinction between the ancient and modern dialects : for if what Dr. Hyde has given us, as the words of Ardeshir, is authentic, the language of this prince, though called *Old Persian* by that very learned gentleman, is actually, when decyphered, simply the modern in ancient characters : and if his book is written in the same tongue, (which is probably the case) the whole dif-

ference between the language of the early kings of Persia, and that which now remains, seems to rest entirely in the difference of character, and in the introduction of the Arabic; which began to take place in the seventh century of the Christian era. §

S E C T. III.

Changes introduced, by the Arabian conquest, in the government, religion, and language of Persia. The Macedonians and Arabians persecute the religion of the Magi; and destroy their books. Probable causes of this severity. The Parsis fly from the Arabian proscription, and settle in Guzerat and other places. They acknowledge that their books are of modern date. The Persian language neglected by the Mohammedans till the tenth century. Becomes blended with Arabic on its revival. Singular attention paid by Eastern princes to learned men. Decline of Oriental literature after the invasions of Gengiz Khan and Tamerlane. Leading distinctions between Western and Eastern genius. The usefulness of the Persian and Arabic languages in Hindostan.

BEFORE the appearance of Mohammed, the Arabians, confined within their own peninsula, made no figure on the theatre of Asia; and were, in a political light, known only to be despised by the Grecian and the Persian powers. But the enthusiasm, genius, and intrepidity of one extraordinary man, soon changed the scene; and gave a beginning to revolutions equally rapid as complete. The numerous Arabian tribes Mohammed, by various means, converted to his faith, or subjected to his power; but died before any impression was made upon the adjacent states. Abubeker led the way to foreign conquest; and his successor Omar, in the short space of four years, saw the Khalifat extended from Egypt to the frontiers of India. Persia was one of the noblest acquisitions of the Mohammedan arms; the decisive victory of *Kadessia*, in the year 636, throwing this mighty empire under the Arabian yoke, as that of *Arbela* had formerly subjected it to Alexander. The consequences however of the two revolutions had nothing similar: the Macedonian conquest produced only a change of princes; the Kaianian dynasty of Persian kings giving way to the successors of their Grecian conqueror: but that of the Arabians proved a

radical subversion of every characteristic circumstance which distinguishes nation from nation. The ancient government of the Persians was overturned ; their religion proscribed ; their laws trampled upon ; and their civil transactions disturbed by the forcible introduction of the lunar for the solar calendar : whilst their language, which the laws of nature preserved from immediate and absolute annihilation, became almost overwhelmed by an inundation of Arabic words ; which, from that period, religion, authority, and fashion, incorporated with their idiom. *

THE worship of the ancient Persians had unquestionably been very early corrupted. The reverence paid to the Sun and to Fire, which Zoroaster considered perhaps merely as representatives of Omnipotence, the fountain of light, seems to have been an idea too refined for the gross capacities of the vulgar : who, without regard to the great invisible Prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of those ostensible deities. Much absurd and barbarous superstition must in consequence have crept in, and clouded by degrees the purer faith of their ancestors. Upon other grounds it will be difficult to account for that singular severity with which Alexander first, and afterwards the Arabian

Khalifs, reprobated the tenets of the Magi; destroyed their books; and persecuted, with unrelenting rigour, all who made profession of their religion. ^b

THE Grecians and Romans had enlarged sentiments of toleration. They adopted the gods of all the nations they subdued: and, in the belief, that every people and every place had their tutelary divinities, they were at uncommon pains to please them, and were equally careful in avoiding all offence. From Arrian we learn, that Alexander sacrificed to the Babylonish gods and other Asiatic deities, though then unknown in Greece: and we are told by Pliny, that the first endeavour of the Romans, when besieging a city, was to discover the name of the guardian divinity (without which, it seems, they could make no invocation); when, by promises of greater honours than he had hitherto enjoyed, they endeavoured to bribe him to betray his former votaries. Such having been the extended ideas of the old Polytheists, we are forced to conclude, That some singular circumstances of intolerance and horror had marked the Magian rites, which peculiarly provoked the vengeance of their Macedonian conqueror. ^c

A SIMILAR reason must account for that uncommon severity with which they were

crushed by their Moslem masters. These enthusiasts, it must be confessed, knew little of the tolerant principles of the ancient Greeks; and considered it as a religious duty to establish their new faith with fire and sword. To the Christians, Jews, Sabians, and other sects, they paid, however, some show of respect; and permitted them, if averse to Moslemism, to follow their old belief, on paying a certain extraordinary tribute. But their fury against the Magi knew no bounds; destruction or conversion being the only alternatives they deigned to offer. The body of the nation chose the last; whilst the small remainder of confirmed enthusiasts sheltered themselves in the mountains of Kuhistan. Some retired to the isle of Ormuz; whence they afterwards embarked for Diu; and at length, towards the close of the eighth century, they obtained permission to settle in Surat, and other places in the territory of Guzerat: where their descendants, under the denomination of Parsis or Guebres, by avoiding all intermarriage with the aboriginal natives of Hindostan, still maintain themselves a distinct body of harmless and unpowerful people. ^d

It may be said, perhaps, that the religion and learning of the Magi was by no

means the single object of Mohammedan devastation; the destruction of the famous library of Alexandria being another memorial of the execrable zeal of the Khalif Omar. It is true, that this great but bigoted prince, considering all books which coincided with the Alcoran to be superfluous, and all that opposed its doctrines to be pernicious, issued his barbarian mandate to destroy that noble monument of ancient learning and magnificence: but still there was nothing striking in the persecution of the Egyptians; the general mode of an advanced tribute being all that was exacted, for permission to follow the various religious systems, which prevailed in that country previous to the conquest. *

THESE singular events, which marked the fate of the Persian religion, joined to the unsuccessful researches which have hitherto been made, seem to furnish strong collateral evidence in support of the foregoing arguments: and lead us to conclude, with every circumstance of probability, That the original works of the Persian lawgiver have long ago fallen a sacrifice to the ravages of time and of conquest; that the publications of M. Anquetil have no pretensions to authenticity; and that nothing now remains, bearing the names of those once celebrated books, but the absurd

ceremonials of the modern Guebres ; which preserve, apparently, no nearer resemblance to the ancient Worship of Persia, than the corrupted tenets of the Mingrelians or Georgians have to the Christian religion. The Parsis of Guzerat even acknowledge, that, so far from now possessing the ancient books of Zoroaster, they have not so much as one single copy saved by their ancestors from the general wreck in the seventh century : the formularies which they now use, being only transcripts of a translation by Ardeshir, one of their Destours, who lived about 400 years ago. In Europe, we have had many instances of the forgery of books, in matters of mere curiosity ; and we have found their detection difficult. But how much more powerful must have been the temptation to the Guebre priests on the loss of the writings of their lawgiver : for rule was their object ; and they have ever ruled with despotism. Absurd ceremony seems to have usurped the place of common sense ; and the barbarous dialect of the Zend may possibly have been invented, to throw a more impenetrable veil over their mysterious nothings. A Parsi cannot even pare his nails, or cut his hair, without hundreds of unmeaning prayers, and the most tedious and ridiculous observances. But

every omission is gainful to the priest: absolution must be purchased; and a fine is the indispensable consequence of the most minute and involuntary failure. ^f

FROM the seventh till the tenth century, the Persian tongue appears to have laboured under much discouragement and neglect. Baghdad, built by Almanzor, became soon after the year 762, the chief residence of the Khalifs, and the general resort of the learned and the ambitious from every quarter of the empire: but the Arabic language, in a literary as well as in a religious light, was long the only object of attention and patronage: whilst the Persians, ruled with the iron hand of religious tyranny, seem to have been remembered by the Khalifs only to be despised, plundered, and oppressed. But the revolutions of the empire changed at length the scene; and the accession of the *Buyah* princes to the Persian throne marked, in the tenth century, the great epoch of the revival of Persian learning. ^g

THE khalifat had now lost much of its pristine vigour; the finest kingdoms and provinces of the empire having been usurped by various adventurers, who paid only a tributary obedience to the successors of their prophet. Of those feudatory chiefs, the most

powerful were the princes of the house of *Buyah*, otherwise called the *Deylemites*; who added to their high rank of kings of Persia, the dignity of *Emiru'l'omra* to the Khalifs of Baghdad; an office nearly resembling the *Maire du palais* to the *rois faineants* of the Merovingian race of France. An outward show of respect and pomp was all that the Head of the Mohammedan religion now enjoyed; whilst the solid power was completely engrossed by the *Emiru'l'omra*. In this high station, about the year 977, we find the great *Azaduddowla*; who first assumed the title of Sultan, afterwards so generally adopted by Eastern princes. He was born at Ispahan, and had a strong attachment to his native kingdom. He was an able general and an accomplished statesman: he was munificent and learned. His court, whether at Baghdad or in the capital of Persia, was the standard of taste, and the favourite residence of genius. The native dialect of the prince was particularly distinguished; and became soon the general language of composition, in almost every branch of polite learning; after having been almost wholly neglected by literary men for above three hundred years.

FROM the end of the tenth, till the fifteenth century, may be considered as the most

flourishing period of Persian learning. The Epic Poet Firdousi, in his romantic history of the Persian kings and heroes, displays an imagination and smoothness of numbers hardly inferior to Homer. The whole fanciful range of Persian enchantment he has interwoven in his poems, which abound with the noblest efforts of genius : and he has stamped a dignity on the monsters and fabling of the East, equal to that which the prince of Epic poetry has given to the mythology of ancient Greece. His language may, at the same time, be considered as the most refined dialect of the *older Persian* or *Deri* ; the Arabic being introduced with a very sparing hand : whilst Sadi, Jami, Hafez, and other succeeding writers, in prose as well as verse, have blended in their works the Arabic without reserve ; gaining, perhaps, in the nervous luxuriance of the one language, what may seem to have been lost in the softer delicacy of the other. ⁱ

FROM the above period, a literary rivalry seems to have subsisted amongst the Mohammedan princes who had dismembered the Khalifat ; every Sultan considering it as an object of the first consequence, to number amongst his friends, the most celebrated poets or philosophers of their age. No expence

was spared to allure them to their courts; and no respect was wanting to fix a continuance of their attachment. *

THE Eastern princes seem indeed to have carried their attachment to men of genius to a very singular excess: even imprisoning them, if they suspected them of an intention to retire. If they happened to escape, an embassy with presents and apologies sometimes followed the man of learning; and peremptory demands were often made, where gentler methods had not the desired effect: a demand however seldom complied with, if the power of the sovereign with whom they had taken refuge, bore any proportion to that of his competitor. I shall mention two examples. *Khakani*, a celebrated Persian poet of the twelfth century, was a great favourite with the Sultan of Shirvan; but becoming at last disgusted with the world, he desired leave to retire into the religious order of the Dervishes. The Sultan refusing him permission, he fled; but was pursued, brought back, and imprisoned for several months. Here he composed one of his finest elegies: but he was at length set at liberty; and soon after obtained leave to put his design in execution.—Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghezna, having invited some men of genius from the court of his son-in-law, the

king of Kharezmé, the celebrated *Avicenna*, who was of the number, refused to go ; and retired to the capital of the Sultan of Jorjan. Mahmoud ordered immediately a number of portraits of this great physician to be copied ; and sent them all around, in order to discover his retreat. The fame of his cures had, in the mean time, reached the Sultan of Jorjan ; who sent for him to visit a favourite nephew, whose malady had perplexed the faculty. Avicenna supposed it to be concealed love : and, in the idea that the fair object might be one of the ladies of the king's Haram, he desired the chamberlain to describe the apartments of the palace, whilst he felt the prince's pulse. On the mention of a particular quarter, he perceived an uncommon emotion in his patient ; but the naming of the lady who lived in it, entirely removed his doubts. The sequel is a perfect counterpart of the famous story of Antiochus and Stratonice. The prince was made happy. The king conceiving a great desire to see a physician of such penetrating genius, sent for him ; and discovered him the moment he appeared, by one of the portraits which he had received from Sultan Mahmoud. But no menaces could induce the king of Jorjan to deliver him up. He loaded him, on the contrary, with riches

and honours ; and protected him, as long as he chused to continue at his court, against the all-powerful resentment of that formidable monarch. ¹

AMONGST the most magnificent of the royal patrons of Persian literature were three contemporary princes, who reigned towards the end of the eleventh century ; and were remarkable not only for their abilities and liberality, but for the singular and uninterrupted harmony which distinguished their correspondence. These were Malekshah Jelaleddin, king of Persia ; Keder ben Ibrahim, Sultan of the Gheznevites ; and Keder Khan, the Khakan, or king of Turquestan, beyond the Gihon. The Khakan was uncommonly splendid : when he appeared abroad he was preceded by 700 horsemen with silver battle-axes, and was followed by an equal number bearing maces of gold. He supported, with most magnificent appointments, a literary academy in his palace, consisting of a hundred men of the highest reputation in the East : Amak, called also Abou'l'najib Al Bokhari, who was the *Ustadu'l'shoara*, or chief of the Poets, exclusive of a great pension, having, amongst other articles of Eastern luxury, a vast number of male and female slaves ; with thirty horses of state richly capa-

risoned, and a retinue in proportion, which attended him wherever he went. The Khan used often to preside at their exercises of genius: on which occasions, by the side of his throne were always placed four large basons filled with gold and silver; which he distributed with a liberal hand, to those who principally excelled.^m

BUT the invasions of Jengiz Khan and Tamerlane, in the beginning of the thirteenth, and end of the fourteenth centuries, gave violent checks to all the arts of peace. The Khalifat and all its feudatory princes were overwhelmed: and altho' Tamerlane, in a variety of instances, was a liberal patron of learned men; that was but a feeble compensation for the general desolation which he spread around; and the destruction of a number of magnificent patrons of the arts, who sunk under the torrent of his irresistible power.—The Turks soon after stretched their government, unfavourable to liberty and science, from Europe to the banks of the Tigris: whilst, in Persia, the bloody reigns of the detested house of Sefi concurred effectually in plunging those noble countries into that melancholy barbarism, from which Europe, during that period, had been gradually emerging.ⁿ

FOR near three hundred years, the literary fire of the Persians and Arabians seems indeed to have been almost extinguished ; nothing hardly, during that time, which deserves attention, being known, at least, in Europe : yet enough exists, to give us a very high opinion of the genius of the East. In taste they are undoubtedly inferior to the Greeks, to the Romans, and to the best writers of modern Europe ; but, in invention, they are excelled, perhaps equalled by none. The Arabians are distinguished by a conciseness of diction, which borders sometimes upon obscurity. The Persians affect, on the contrary, a rhetorical luxuriance ; which, to a European, wears the air of unnecessary redundancy. If, to these leading distinctions, we add a peculiarity of imagery, of metaphor, of allusion ; derived from the difference of government, of manners, of temperament ; and of such natural objects as characterise Asia from Europe ; we shall see, at one view, the great points of variation between the writers of the East and West. Amongst the Oriental historians, philosophers, rhetoricians, and poets, many will be found, who would do honour to any age or people : whilst their romances, their tales, and their fables, stand

upon a ground, which Europeans, in some points, have hardly yet found powers to reach.

IN various other lights, the usefulness of the Persian and Arabic languages will appear evident, on the slightest examination. The high political consequence of the Persian, in the affairs of India, is too obvious and too generally acknowledged to require arguments to enforce it; whilst the Arabic, totally neglected, or studied with inattention, has never been viewed, in Hindostan, by Europeans, in the important light it seems to merit. Yet the intercourse which the Arabians have maintained with that country, is ancient and intimate. For many centuries, previous to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, they were the chief traders in the East; and the commodities of India flowed into Europe, by the way of Egypt and Syria, almost solely through their hands. Their commercial settlements skirted the Indian coasts: their transactions with the Gentoos were extensive; and their language found its way where even their arms and their religion had made no impression. The transactions, sometimes amicable, but oftener hostile, in which the Hindoo Rajahs were engaged with the Mohammedan princes, long before the accession of the house of Timur, opened likewise num-

berless channels for the introduction and incorporation of this great Mohammedan language ; and gave it, in time, such an universal currency in Hindostan, that not only two thirds of the Persian, now in general use there, is pure Arabic ; but a half perhaps of the Hindostan or Moors is Arabic and Persian : in the Malay, they also both abound ; and they appear even to have found a place in the vulgar *Nagree* and *Bengal*. But that which has chiefly astonished me, is to find Arabic technically used, even in the *Code of Gentoo Laws*. If such words are actually in the original *Shanscrit*, it is a circumstance which will require a very nice explanation : for, upon general principles, we must, on that ground, question the antiquity of those laws ; having at present no foundation to believe, that the Arabic was introduced into Hindostan earlier than the Mohammedan invasion A. D. 708, during the Khalifat of the first Al Walid. But if they are not in the original *Shanscrit*, and only occur in the Persian translation by the Pundits ; there appears to be the same impropriety in their modernizing or translating those ancient law words, as there would have been, had Sir William Blackstone given only the English of such terms as *Certiorari* or *Fieri facias*, and omitted the original names of the writs. ^P

C H A P. II.

OF ANCIENT ORIENTAL HISTORY AND
TRADITION.

S E C T. I.

Eastern language and literature may throw great light on ancient history, mythology, and manners. Systematic writers on the actions of mankind always to be doubted. The Grecian history of Ancient Persia questionable. The great object of history to improve society. Improbability not intitled to our belief, altho' transmitted to us by celebrated writers. Uncertainty of history in general; and the propriety of impartial research.

HAVING traced the progress of the Arabic and Persian languages as far as is consistent with reason, or conducive to utility; I shall now proceed to observations on other points, which will be chiefly comprehended under two heads: *First*, Lights which Eastern language and literature may throw upon ancient history and mythology. *Se-*

condly, Customs apparently originating in Asia, which, since the downfall of the Roman power, seem to have influenced the manners of modern Europe. In the investigation of those subjects, I am unavoidably led to question the opinions of some of the most eminent men in the literary world; who, little acquainted with the languages of the East, and intangled in the labyrinths of ideal system, have built upon a basis of no solidity, and extended error instead of discovering truth. Yet, wherever I venture, on any ground, to differ from exalted characters, I wish it may be understood, that I lose nothing of that respect to which they are so justly intitled. It is the lot of humanity to err. We may venerate a Herodotus or a Newton, without enslaving the mind by an acquiescence in their failings: we may admire the noblest efforts of human wisdom, without equally revering the unavoidable weaknesses of human frailty. *

SYSTEMATIC writers, upon the actions of mankind, however ingenious and learned, are ever to be read with caution. Man, in the aggregate, is too irregular to be reduced to invariable laws. A slave to passion and to momentary views, the weakest springs have found force sufficient to shake the mightiest states; and events of the deepest consequence

have originated from causes which shunned all public view. But a framer of systems thinks not like other men : he forms nations, and he annihilates them : he establishes empires, and he destroys them ; he assigns reasons for each fortuitous event ; and defines, with mathematical precision, the motives of action, which were grounded only on caprice, accident, or error. As his fabrick is not founded in nature, he is perplexed by contradictions, which he finds irreconcilable with the principles of truth. Impelled, however, by a warm imagination, he bends every fact to his system, since he cannot rear his system upon facts. He descends from the character of judge : he becomes counsel for a party ; and, like the ancient tyrant, tortures every circumstance to adapt it to his iron bed : where defective, he stretches it on the rack ; and lops the superfluities, where it threatens to prove too much. Does a dynasty of kings stand in the way of a favourite hypothesis, he cuts them off at once : is there an unlucky chasm in the annals of a people, he makes a fresh creation : does an era gravel his new positions, he removes it back a thousand years ; and mangles the chronology of half the world, to support a system of heterogeneous figments. Yet writers of ability will make even error

respectable. Though their systems are visionary, they are ingenious and informing. The researches after the Philosopher's stone, and Judicial Astrology, which engaged the learning and attention of the middle ages, were wild in themselves; as the objects were beyond the powers of man: yet Chymistry, Astronomy, and Navigation, owe much of their improvement to casual discoveries in those chimerical pursuits.^b

THE information we have hitherto received of the Ancient History, Mythology, and Manners of Eastern nations, has been almost entirely derived through the medium of the Grecian writers; whose elegance of taste, harmony of language, and fine arrangement of ideas, have captivated the imagination, misled the judgment, and stamped with the dignified title of history, the amusing excursions of fanciful romance. Too proud to consider surrounding nations, (if the Egyptians may be excepted) in any light but that of Barbarians; they despised their records, they altered their language, and framed too often their details, more to the prejudices of their fellow citizens, than to the standard of truth or probability. We have names of Persian kings, which a Persian could not pronounce; we have facts related they apparently never

knew; and we have customs ascribed to them, which contradict every distinguishing characteristic of an Eastern people. The story of Lyfimachus and one Greek historian, may indeed, with justice, be applied to many others. This prince, in the partition of Alexander's empire, became King of Thrace: he had been one of the most active of that conqueror's commanders; and was present at every event which deserved the attention of history. A Grecian had written an account of the Persian conquest; and he wished to read it before the king. The monarch listened with equal attention and wonder: "All this is very fine," says he, when the historian had finished, "but where was I when those things were performed?"

I MEAN not to assert that the historians of the East have not their failings as well as those of the West; but their facts, though clothed often in a luxuriance of diction, display little of that national vanity, so conspicuous in the most distinguished of the Grecian writers, which leads to the invention and the embellishment of fiction. Whence they had their materials it is difficult to determine; but even the rudest of people, where they contradict not probability, are entitled to respect in the annals of their own country. In a few

circumstances they coincide with the writers of Greece and Rome ; this strengthens history : there are many upon which they are silent ; this naturally leads to doubt and enquiry : there are numbers in which the opposition is pointed : whom are we to believe ? the natives, or the native enemies of a country ? those who might have had access to genuine records, or those who probably never could ? ^a

It may undoubtedly be objected to the principal historians of Persia, now known in Europe, that they are all subsequent to the Mohammedan era : that Persian literature was almost entirely annihilated in the consequences of the Arabian conquest : that the Grecians wrote nearer to the events which they have recorded ; and therefore, though foreigners, have a superior claim to our credence than the natives of after-ages, who must have compiled their annals under many circumstances of discouraging obscurity. These considerations are undoubtedly of weight ; and, in all relations where consistency is not hurt, we should certainly allow them every degree of force. It is error alone we should wish to reprobate : it is the path of truth we should wish to clear. ^e

THE chief object of History is to improve

the great system of social life, by instructing mankind in the experience of former ages. To answer this important end, it is by no means necessary that every fact we read should be strictly true in all its parts. The *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, or the *Telemaque* of Fenelon, may convey lessons, on a variety of points, with an efficacy not inferior to the most unquestioned truths. Where no probability is therefore destroyed; no chronology obviously injured; no superior authority evidently opposed: where the great lines are consistent with the situation of the principal agents; and the consequences arise naturally from the events: such facts are entitled to our belief: and to question them must only display a very unnecessary, and a very unprofitable scepticism. But, where the annals of one nation are tortured into co-incidence with the imaginary eras of another; where mighty details are given, the traces of which cannot be discovered in the countries most eminently interested; where sober truth and rational evidence are sacrificed to vanity, fiction, or exaggeration; such narrations should acquire no authority, because transmitted by the most celebrated of the ancient writers, and copied by compilers of modern times. We should look upon them as fables of mere

amusement ; and proportion our admiration to their secondary merits alone ; elegance of taste, ingenuity of invention, and excellence of stile. †

WHEN we reflect on the uncertainty of almost every thing merely human : when we observe the obscurity with which all history is involved in its beginnings : when we consider how few writers record the facts of their own observation ; and the suspicious mediums thro' which they derive their knowledge : when we view the partiality of mankind for their country, their party, their opinions ; with the necessity, which even the most enlightened, and the most unbiaſſed minds, have found of swimming with the ſtream of popular prejudice ; we muſt candidly confeſs, that no particular claſs of hiſtorians have any ſolid claim to poſſeſs themſelves excluſively of our belief ; in oppoſition to others, whoſe narratives, tho' rational, are repugnant to thoſe which we have been accuſtomed to receive. *Audi alteram partem* is an old and an excellent maxim ; and impartiality ought ever to impreſs it on our minds, where opportunity furniſhes the means. With channels of information, to which the ancients were completely ſtrangers, how difficult is it even now to arrive at the true hiſtory of the ſimpleſt fact ? and how wide of all reſemblance does not the ſame

tale appear, as told by the people under the opposite impressions of vanity, prejudice, or interest? How justly may we therefore suspect the historians of every darker age, whose materials were defective, and whose imaginations were strong: who lived at periods when imposition was gainful, and credulity unbounded: where the necessary measures to secure the adoration of the Million to a Calf, a Cat, or a Beetle, furnished Priests (the great sources of Egyptian and other ancient annals), with such powerful incentives to the invention of the wildest and the most improbable of fictions.

TAKE many points of modern history, and all the information we receive is merely what each nation or party has written relative to public affairs: whilst the events themselves are still surrounded with obscurity and doubt. Read the Protestant Writers of France, and every circumstance of horror marks the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day: but turn to the Catholic page, and it becomes a necessary, a prudent, and a lawful act; the mere preventive of a similar tragedy, meditated by the Admiral de Chatillon against the adherents of the House of Guise. Take two foreign writers of our English history, over whom country and party prejudices ought to have had no influence; and how different is the

colouring of the same tale? With *Rapin*, the Caligulas and the Neros fall short of the inhuman James, on the suppression of Monmouth's insurrection: whilst the mild, the just, the forgiving prince is the portrait of the *Pere d'Orleans*. Contrast the *Memoires de Sully* with the Libels of the League against Henry IV. or the *Siecle de Louis Quatorze* with the Invectives of the Protestant Refugees; and the Glorious Monarch, or the Savage Tyrant appear before you in successive review. To enlarge upon the various opinions of our own writers, on the great events of English history, would be endless and unnecessary: the circumstances I have mentioned being merely intended to inculcate this simple position, That few facts, either of ancient or modern times, are so fully authenticated as to render farther enquiry improper.^h

THE Romans have read us many a lesson on Punic faith: had we Punic writers, Merciless Jealousy, and Perfidious Ambition, might, and perhaps with justice, have been retorted on the Romans. The Grecians have told us many a surprising tale of Eastern nations; it cannot be improper to listen to what those nations say.ⁱ

S E C T. II.

A short view of the early periods of Persian history. Like those of other nations disfigured by the marvellous; yet not entirely to be rejected. Disagreement between the Grecian and Asiatic history of Persia. Invasion of Xerxes improbable. Outlines of the Macedonian conquest from Persian historians.

THE reigning families of Persia, previous to the Arabian conquest, are comprehended, by their historians, under four dynasties; the *Pisbdadians*, the *Kaianians*, the *Ashkanians*, and the *Sassanians*. The Persians, like other people, have assumed the privilege of romancing on the early periods of society. The first dynasty is, in consequence, embarrassed by fabling. Their most ancient princes are chiefly celebrated for their victories over the Demons or Genii, called *Dives*; and some have reigns assigned to them of eight hundred, or a thousand years. Amidst such fictions, however, there is apparently some truth. Those monarchs probably did reign; though poetic fancy may have ascribed to them ages

and adventures which the laws of nature reject. We dispute not the existence of our English Arthur, though we believe not in the Giants and Magic of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*: and Charlemagne was undoubtedly a great prince, though we subscribe not to the wonderful adventures of *Turpin's Twelve Peers*. The Dives may have been savage neighbours, conquered by the Pishdadian kings; and magnified by tradition as Beings of a supernatural species. The Gods, the Titans, and the Heroes of the Greeks; the Giants, the Savages, and the Monsters of Gothic romance, seem all to have originated from similar principles: from that wild irregularity of fancy, and that admiration of the marvellous, which, in various degrees, runs thro' the legends of every darker period of the history of mankind. The longevity, at the same time, ascribed to this race of monarchs, may either have been founded on some imperfect antediluvian idea; or may be resolved, by supposing *families* instead of *individuals*: and that the *Caiumaras*, the *Ghemshids*, and the *Feriduns* of the East, were merely successions of princes, bearing one common surname; like the *Pharaohs*, the *Ptolemies*, or the *Cæsars* of the West. *

WITH the second dynasty, a more probable system of history seems to commence: yet

still the era of *Kaicobad*, the founder of this house, cannot be precisely fixed. Though historians differ, however, with regard to the chronology of this prince; in one point, which may lead us to ascertain it with tolerable accuracy, they appear, in general, to be unanimous. Darab the Younger, dethroned by Alexander, is called the ninth sovereign of this line. He was assassinated about 300 years B. C. If thirty years are allowed therefore as the medium of each reign, or 270 for the nine kings, *Kaicobad*'s sovereignty may possibly have commenced about 600 years before our era; which will comprehend the whole of that period of Persian history for which we are indebted to the Greeks. Sir Isaac Newton, it may be objected, with other chronologists, have allowed but twenty years to a reign, and made that the universal standard for all nations: but, with submission to those learned men, nothing carries with it a stronger tendency to unhinge all chronology than such an unmodified system. For if no collateral circumstances of situation, manners, and government, are taken into the scale, much confusion must apparently arise. From Zeno till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the Emperors of Greece reigned hardly fifteen years; and the Khalifs, from the death of

Mohammed till the sacking of Baghdad by the Moguls, little more than ten years each. But, in those and other countries, which have been remarked for a quick succession of princes, revolutions and assassinations, it will always be observed, have ever disturbed the course of nature: whilst, in regular governments, the medium of reigns has been often lengthened to periods nearly approaching to what is above proposed. From the murder of Henry IV. till the death of Louis XV. only three princes have filled the throne of France; making about fifty-five years to a reign: whilst, in the distracted state of that country, previous to Louis XIII. five kings scarcely completed twelve years each.—As the Persian historians mention therefore no assassinations, nor uncommon convulsions of government; and as the administration of public affairs appears in general to have been fortunate and steady; thirty years, in those ages, when at the same time a greater simplicity of life, perhaps, prevailed, seems to be a calculation by no means stretched beyond the probable line of nature.

THE *Kaianian* dynasty being supposed then to commence nearly about 600 years before the birth of our Lord, this brings us to the reign of that king of the Medo Persians, called by the Greeks *Cyaxares*; which, accord-

ing to Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, is supposed to have begun in the year of Nabonassar 137 (about 610 before Christ) From this period till the Macedonian conquest, we have therefore the history of the Persians, as given us by the Greeks; and the history of the Persians, as written by themselves. Between those classes of writers, we might naturally expect some difference of facts; but we should as naturally look for a few great lines, which might mark some similarity of story: yet, from every research which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire. The names and numbers of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek historians the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the *Great Cyrus*, nor of any *king of Persia*, who, in the events of his reign, can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no *Cræsus*, king of Lydia; not a syllable of *Cambyses* or of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. *Smerdis Magus*, and the succession of *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, by the neighing of his horse, are to the *Persians* circumstances equally unknown as the numerous assassina-

tions recorded by the *Greeks*. Not a vestige is, at the same time, to be discovered of the famous battles of *Marathon*, *Thermopylæ*, *Salamis*, *Platea*, or *Mycale* ; nor of that prodigious force which Xerxes led out of the Persian empire to overwhelm the states of Greece. Minutely attentive as the Persian historians are to their numerous wars with the kings of Turan or Scythia ; and recording, with the same impartiality, whatever might tarnish as well as aggrandize the reputation of their country ; we can, with little pretence to reason, suppose, that they should have been silent on events of such magnitude ; had any record remained of their existence, or the faintest tradition commemorated their consequences. Xerxes, according to Herodotus, crossed the Hellespont, attended by no fewer than 5,283,220 souls, and escaped back alone in a fishing boat ; the whole almost of this mighty host perishing by the sword, by famine, or by disease. The destruction of such a number would have convulsed the whole of Asia, had it been united under one empire : could it possibly have been unfelt in Persia ? Can any man who has made the least observation, at the same time, on history, suppose, for a moment, that such myriads could by any means have been maintained in one

collected body ; even in the present times, when the art of war, in that particular department, has arrived at a degree of perfection unknown in those ruder ages. The greatest armies, of which we have any rational information, are those of Jengiz Khan and Tamerlane, the most despotic and the most powerful conquerors on record : yet these princes, in all their mighty achievements, were seldom followed by 400,000 men. We are told, indeed, that the army of Tamerlane, on his return from the conquest of India ; when he meditated the destruction of Bajazet, and of the sultans of Egypt and Baghdad, amounted to near 800,000 men, previous to the battles of Damascus and Ancyra. Yet those troops were dispersed in different divisions ; they were besieging many distant places at the same period of time ; and were not, after all, a sixth part of the reputed army of Xerxes : though Tamerlane possessed then an empire and an authority incomparably superior to that of the Persian monarchs in the highest zenith of their power ; and was then marching against potentates of infinitely higher political consequence than the Grecians, at the supposed period of this tremendous invasion. But the states of Greece appear, in fact, with regard

to the Persians, to have been too far removed from that degree of importance which could hold them up as objects of such high ambition or of such mighty resentment. Till the reign of Philip of Macedon, they are hardly mentioned by the Persian writers, but as tributaries to the Persian empire. Those famous invasions may possibly therefore have been simply the movements of the governors of Asia Minor ; to enforce a tribute, which the Persians might often claim, and the Greeks might never pay. Marathon, Salamis, and other celebrated battles may indeed have been real events ; but “ Numerous as the sands on the shore,” is an idea which, in all times, has been annexed to defeated armies : and the Grecian writers, to dignify their country, may have turned the hyperbole into historic fact ; and swelled the *Thousands* of the *Persian Satrap* into the *Millions* of the *Persian King*. ‘

Some of those famed events, it is not impossible too, might have been the mere descents of pirates or private adventurers ; either with the view to plunder, or to retaliate some similar expedition of the Greeks ; who appear very early to have been a race of free-booters extremely troublesome to the surrounding coasts. The Argonauts, if such heroes ever did exist, are not entitled to a more reputable

appellation : and indeed the practice seems to have been too universal to carry with the Greeks the remotest imputation of dishonour. If we look into Homer, Thucydides, Diodorus, and others, we shall discover piracy to have been considered as a profession ; but without connecting with it the least opprobrious idea. Strangers are carelessly asked whether they are traders or pirates ; and the discovery of either character does not seem to heighten or diminish that respect or degree of hospitality which the manners of the times had annexed to the rank of those roving guests. “ Are you merchants bound to any port (says Nestor at Pylos to Telemachus and Mentor), or are you pirates, who roam the seas, without a destined place ; and live by plunder and desolation ? ” — In this honourable profession of pirates there may have been many subjects of the Persian empire. Greece, as well as other countries, may have been often the theatre of their rapine and devastation : whilst their success or discomfiture must have been events of too little moment to reach the ears or engage the attention of the Shahinshah, or King of Kings, at the remote cities of Persepolis and Balkh. Suppose, if such an illustration may be allowed, an English pirate to have landed in former times on Madagaf-

car ; suppose him to have called himself *King of England* ; and suppose, after putting that island into a dreadful alarm, he had been at length defeated. The Madagascar historians, if any they had, to raise the glory of their nation, might compose a pompous detail of their Marathons and Plataeas : they might repulse the English monarch at the head of any myriads the victors should vauntingly give out, or tradition magnify : and this might undoubtedly gain credit in Madagascar and in the adjacent isles ; whilst the splendid event, unfelt, and even unknown to the British nation, found not a single line in their historic page. ^d

THIS celebrated expedition, amongst many Grecian narratives, equally suspicious, I have particularly selected ; as the uncommon greatness of the enterprize, had it borne the least resemblance to truth, must have been too well known in Persia ; and made too deep an impression upon the minds of each successive generation, ever to have been totally eradicated. I shall now proceed to trace the great lines of the only single fact of consequence, in which there appears even an irregular co-incidence ; I mean the *Macedonian conquest*. The king who, according to Eastern writers, reigned in Persia immediately before the *Darius*

Codomannus of the Greeks, is called *Dara* or *Darab*. The first is synonymous with *Shah*, and signifies, in Persian, *A king*. The other, in the same language, implies *Possessed by or found on water*; which name, they say, he obtained from the following circumstance. The kings of Persia appear to have assumed the privilege of marrying whom they pleased; and sometimes made choice even of their own daughters. The Greek writers confirm the prevalence of this custom; and observe, in particular, that Artaxerxes Mnemon espoused two of his daughters, whom he had successively promised to Tiribazus, one of his Satraps. Bahaman, the sixth king of the Kaianian dynasty, had married his daughter Homai, whom he left pregnant at his death; disinheriting his son Saffan, in favour of this lady and her offspring. Homai was declared heiress of the empire, if not delivered of a son; and regent, in that event, till he was of age to reign. But averse even to the distant prospect of resigning sovereign power, the queen ordered the birth of her son to be concealed; and sent him privately to be exposed in a casket on the banks of the Gihon. The rising of the waters soon swept him away, and threw him on a dyer's bleaching ground. The rich stuffs and valuable jewels, which

the poor man found in the casket, convinced him that he was a child of elevated birth. He educated him however as his own son; and wished him to follow his profession: but the prince, unwilling to believe himself the son of a dyer, urged his reputed father so strongly, that the good man discovered at length all he knew; and delivered to him all the jewels which he had carefully preserved. Young Darab determined immediately on the profession of arms; and set out for the army, which was then marching against the Greeks. He arrived on the eve of a battle; in which he distinguished himself with such heroism, that his fame reached the queen. The prince was sent for: Homai was struck with his presence: she discovered him by the jewels, and the old man's testimony; and resigned the diadem to him, after having reigned with great reputation about thirty years. This Darab is represented as an accomplished prince, and a successful warrior. Philip of Macedon, amongst others, according to Khondemir, drew upon him his resentment, by refusing to acknowledge his authority. He marched against him; and forcing him to take refuge in a fortress, Philip sued for peace; which was granted, on condition of giving his daughter in marriage to the Persian king, and pay-

ing an annual tribute of a thousand *Beizets*, or eggs of gold. The young queen did not please her royal confort. Tho' pregnant, he returned her to her father's court ; where she was afterwards delivered of the famous Alexander, whom Philip educated *as his son* ; and left him his kingdom, with the secret of his birth. Darab having, in the mean time, espoused another lady, she brought him Darab the Younger ; who mounted the throne on the demise of his father. This prince is represented by the historians of the East in very different colours from the gentle and amiable Darius Codomannus. His cruelties and oppressions rendered him so detested in Persia, that the great lords exhorted Alexander to assert his right to the empire. Encouraged by those general discontents, he resolved upon the attempt ; and, as a leading step, informed the ambassadors of Darab, when demanding the tribute of the golden eggs, " That the bird " who laid them had flown to the other " world." This refusal, with the raillery which accompanied it, enraged the king of Persia. He marched immediately, to reduce the Macedonian to obedience. The monarchs met : a bloody battle ensued : and Darab was worsted. He retired to his tent, to take some repose before renewing the engagement ;

but was stabbed by two of his attendants, who fled immediately to the Grecian camp. Alexander, informed of the murder, hastened to Darab's pavilion. He found him in the agonies of death : he threw himself on his knees, wept, and protested his ignorance of the treason. The dying prince believed him ; named him his successor ; gave him his daughter Roshana in marriage ; requested him to revenge his assassination ; to govern Persia by Persian nobles ; and expired in his arms. Alexander, they add, chiefly by the counsels of Aristotle, whom they call his vizir, punctually fulfilled these last injunctions of the dying king : the great men of Persia being appointed to the government of the provinces and dependent kingdoms ; which they were permitted to hold on the feudal principles of homage, subsidies, and military service, to the conqueror, as Paramount Sovereign of the empire. *

HERE is a detail which corresponds with the writers of Greece and Rome in nothing but the catastrophe : and yet, in the whole annals of Persia there is not, perhaps, a single passage which boasts a more intimate agreement. A singular incongruity ! How shall we reconcile it ? And to whom must we lean ? The Grecians are already in full pos-

session of our imaginations : we imbibe a reverence for them in our early years, which it is impossible ever to eradicate ; and we are dragged with difficulty to give a candid review to accounts, which, though fully within the line of probability, contradict ideas which we have so long fostered with care. Yet were relations, so widely distinct, equally new : were *China* and *Tartary* substituted for *Persia* and *Greece* : were histories of their wars presented to our perusal by the respective historians of those people ; and did we perceive nothing in the name, in the achievements, or the chronology of the principal actors, which could possibly be forced into a consistency, or persuade us that we were reading the same events in which both countries were so importantly interested ; what perplexity must accompany our opinion ? Should we not naturally conclude, that both had related many fictions, and perhaps some truths ? Should we not weigh the apparent authority of their materials ; consider who approached nearest to national vanity, prejudice, and pride ; and decide at length for those writers, who, tho' liable to much mistake, appeared not, in so high a degree, to have the same inducements to the commemoration of wilful error ? This I mean, however, in respect to the general

idea : for, in many circumstances of the above relation, I should certainly incline to the Greeks : but more from a strong collateral presumptive evidence, than any superior dependence upon their historians : I allude to Demosthenes. Philip appears, from the orations of this great man, to have been too much engaged in the uniting or enslaving of the Greeks not to have shunned, till that great object was accomplished, every circumstance which might embroil him with Persia. Whilst, had he ever been defeated by that nation, and obliged, in consequence, to submit to tribute, it must have not only too much weakened that power, with which he at length subjected the states of Greece, but furnished facts too important to have been omitted in the *Philippics*.^f

S E C T. III.

The Greek language cultivated in the East. All the ancient Persian books not destroyed by the Arabians. Observations on Oriental Tradition, Pride of blood and Genealogy. Historians greatly patronized in the East. Asiatic histories numerous. The Greek historians neglected in the East. Probable reasons for this neglect.

THERE is one circumstance, amongst many others, which, in the course of my reflections on the disagreement of the Persian and Greek historians, has ever struck me with much force. The language of Greece was early cultivated in the East: the connexions of the Persians and Arabians with the successors of Alexander in Syria and Egypt, were long and intimate. Before the era of Mohammed, it was considered as a branch of polite, and even of mercantile education. Greek slaves were common in Arabia; the receipts and disbursements of the treasury of

the Khalifs were written in that tongue for several generations after the Prophet's death. The coins of the Khalifat were invariably struck with Greek inscriptions, till the reign of Abdomeh in 695 : and the Persian coins of the Afhcanian kings, commonly called Parthians or Arfacidæ by Europeans, had also Greek inscriptions, which were probably introduced by Alexander or his successors. Many of the Mohammedan princes gave great encouragement to translations from the Greek ; particularly of the prose writers. That the Grecian histories must have consequently been known, especially to their learned subjects, cannot, I think, with reason, be called in question. Shall we suppose then, that Oriental annalists would not have made great use of those writers, had their narratives been in the least degree consonant to the histories and traditions which the Persians themselves considered as authentic ? That all Persian books were not destroyed by the Arabians, is certain. Some, which concerned not the religion of the Magi, fell into the hands of those who admired and preserved them. The *Zefer namé*, a dialogue on government and morality between Noushirvan the Just, king of Persia, and his vizir Bouzour, has been already mentioned. In the preface to a copy of Firdousi's

Shah namé, we are informed, that a book of history was discovered, during the general havoc, by Saad, one of the Mohammedan generals, and carefully preserved by him; as containing nothing repugnant to the tenets of the Alcoran: and M. D'Herbelot observes, that it was from a collection of Ancient Persian Historians, in the old dialect, that Firdousi drew materials for his immortal work. The kings and great men of the East have long rivalled one another in nothing more than in the excellence of their libraries. With incredible attention and expence, they stored them with every valuable manuscript they could possibly procure; and whatever unrelenting severity a vanquished prince might, by Eastern custom, experience from his more fortunate competitor, his books appear to have been ever an object of uncommon care. *

EXCLUSIVE of such Persian authors as escaped the Arabian proscription, with other records, of which our imperfect knowledge of their language, and slender intercourse with their country, has hitherto deprived us of any positive intelligence; one ground of presumptive information ought not to be wholly disregarded; I mean Tradition. What are the relations of ancient Egypt? What are the early annals of Babylonia, of Greece, of Rome?

Except the sacred writings, what, in a word, is every species of history a little way beyond 2000 years? Mere Tradition! and much of it of the most doubtful and improbable complexion: the Traditions of Pagan priests, whose importance rested on the invention and propagation of error. If any dependence then is placed on those Western tales, in the absence of more convincing evidence, candour ought to allow a proportionable degree of weight to those of the East. In all countries where any difficulty, from whatever cause, has been found in the registering of public events, Tradition has ever been observed to flourish with superior strength; and, through the medium of marvellous embellishment, presents us often with the great lines of the achievements of former times. Where the written memorials of a people are few, and where fewer still can read them; he who rehearſes a rude poem, or a romantic tale, is looked up to with respect. Whatever exalts men above their peers, will ever be cultivated with care; and ſons will often endeavour to excel in what had raiſed their fathers to diſtinction. The prevalence of tradition, in the darker ages of Europe, is unquestioned. The Bards, the Scalds, and the Minſtrels, were careſſed by the fierceſt warriors of thoſe bar-

barian times. Their older compositions are generally considered as the real actions of ancient chiefs : fiction prevailed not so much till later ages : it was the offspring of refinement ; and refinement led the way to the downfall of oral record. For when learning became more diffused ; when feudal lords considered it as no disgrace to sign their names ; when written language became disseminated thro' various orders, and many could read the history of those deeds which formerly had been confined to the knowledge of a peculiar order of men ; their songs wanted novelty ; they were no longer sought after ; their profession fell into contempt ; and at length was gradually extinguished. ^b

A VARIETY of circumstances, peculiar to Asia, justifies us in supposing, that tradition was more vigorous in the East than even in the West. In Persia, India, Tartary, Arabia, from the earliest of times, it has been one of their favourite amusements to assemble, in the serene evenings, around their tents ; on the platforms with which their houses are in general roofed ; or in large halls erected for the purpose ; in order to amuse themselves in various exercises of genius ; and frequently in traditional narratives of the most distinguished actions of their remoter ancestors. Oriental

imagery might often indeed embellish their tales ; but, like the *Gierusalemme* of Taffo, or the *Lusiade* of Camoens, the embroidery of the imagination would not entirely conceal the ground-work of truth. Much rational information will therefore be discovered, not only in their more serious traditions, but also amidst the amusing wildness of their romantic fables. Even in the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, and other Eastern tales, though we may find no necessity to believe in Aladdin's lamp, in the *Genie Danhash*, or the *Fairy Peri banou* ; we shall, nevertheless, discover a truer picture of Eastern manners and beliefs, than in all the Grecian writers ; or in hundreds of other books, more generally resorted to as authorities. The havoc even made amongst the Persian records, with the oppression under which they groaned during the three first centuries of Arabian subjection, might have united more intimately their men of knowledge ; rendered their meetings more frequent, and their traditions more interesting ; from an apprehension that they would drop into oblivion, if not strongly and repeatedly impressed upon the memories of the rising generation. That many events may have been in this manner preserved in rude poems and legendary tales, like the Runic fragments of

the North, the Romanzes of Spain, or the Heroic Ballads of our own country, seems to be highly probable; as well as that such materials may have originally suggested to Firdousi many of the adventures in his *Shah namé*: which, like Homer, when stripped of the machinery of supernatural beings, is supposed to contain much true history, and a most undoubted picture of the superstition and manners of the times. Professed story-tellers, it may also be observed, are of early date in the East. Even at this day, men of rank have generally one or more, male or female, amongst their attendants, who amuse them and their women, when melancholy, vexed, or indisposed; and they are generally employed to lull them asleep. Many of their tales are highly amusing, especially those of Persian origin, or such as have been written on their model. They were even thought so dangerous by Mohammed, that he expressly prohibited them in the Alcoran. The following is given as the reason. An Arabian merchant, called Nasser ben Hareth, having resided long in Persia, returned to his own country whilst the prophet was publishing his Alcoran. Nasser having, perhaps, paid constant attendance at the meetings above alluded to, had treasured up a number of stories relative to the famous Asfendiar,

Rostam, and other ancient heroes of Persia. These he related to his countrymen : they thought them excellent : the legends of the Alcoran were even neglected ; and they plainly told Mohammed, when rehearsing some verses he pretended to have just received from heaven, that the Persian tales were far superior to his. This alarmed him : and he immediately produced part of a chapter, as sent by the Angel Gabriel, declaring them to be impious and pernicious fables, hateful to God and to his prophet : a censure which instantly and long checked their currency with all true believers in the new religion. *

ANOTHER circumstance, which must have greatly contributed to the preservation of written and traditional history in the East, is *Pride of Blood* ; upon which their great men value themselves far beyond the proudest European grandee. Genealogy has consequently long been cultivated with singular attention ; and the following, amongst other reasons, may be assigned for it. The desultory form of government, which has in general prevailed in Asia, has seldom left any security but the sword for the possession of power. Reverses of fortune have, in consequence, been frequent and sudden ; and it has been no uncommon object to behold a man rising to

sovereignty, whose father had been in the meanest condition of mankind. Yet this abject creature might possibly have been descended from some ancient dynasty of kings, whom a similar revolution had driven from their throne. The most powerful and most favoured nobles would naturally, at the same time, share the fate of their prince. Some obscure corner or distant country might give them refuge; where a regard for personal safety, and the prospect of a new revolution, would induce them to conceal, under a mean disguise, the royalty or nobleness of their origin. This gave an extensive range to claims of superior Birth; and whether real or imaginary, they were considered as points of too much consequence to be neglected by a new monarch, a successful general, or a rising statesman. Every species of evidence was therefore anxiously sought for; and the skilful in genealogy were encouraged with a liberality that had nothing European in it. Innumerable proofs might be brought: I shall mention a few. ^d

A R D E S H I R, surnamed Babegan, who (A. D. 202.) wrested the sceptre from Ardeban, the last king of the Ashkanian dynasty, was the son of a shepherd, who kept the sheep of one Babeg, and married his daughter. No sooner however was he fixed upon the throne,

than, with the assistance of genealogists, he proved his descent from Saffan, the disinherited son of Bahaman.—Saman, the founder of the dynasty of the Samanides, who reigned in Transoxania from the year 873 to 997, was the son of a camel-driver ; and for some time followed the same profession : but his posterity brought their genealogy from Behram Joubin, (descended from a family that had reigned at Rei) who usurped, for some time, the throne of Persia towards the end of the sixth century.—Abou Mohammed Obeidallah, the first of the Fatemite dynasty in Africa, (who afterwards conquered Egypt, where they reigned as Khalifs) had been a locksmith at Emessa in Syria. But this trade he abandoned, and set up for a prophet ; in which he was so successful, that he soon, by the help of his followers, raised himself to sovereign power : and pretended to be descended from the Khalif Ali and Fatemah, Mohammed's daughter. The Khalifs of Baghdad, part of whose dominions he had usurped, published several manifestos against him and his successors ; in which the fallacy of their pretensions were exposed. But they still asserted their claim ; and, upon this ground, supported their right to the Khalifat, as the only true Imams, or heads of the Mohammedan religion.—Buiah, the

father of Amaduddowla, the first Persian monarch of the Deylemite race, was a fisherman ; but his son, when he assumed the diadem, (A. D. 932.) traced the family to Behram Gur, who reigned in the middle of the fourth century.—Seljuk, the founder of the Seljukian dynasty of Turks, claimed kindred to Afrasiab, an ancient king of Turan or Scythia, who makes a conspicuous figure in the early period of Persian history.—One of the first cares of Tamerlane was to ascertain his relationship to Jengiz Khan : farther it was unnecessary to go ; for that conqueror, in the meridian of his greatness, had carried up a regular pedigree to Turk, the son of Japhet.—Ismael Sefi, the first king of the late reigning family of Persia, who, after defeating the princes of the White Ram, mounted the throne about the year 1502, traced also his genealogy to Ali and Fatemah.—It must be unnecessary to multiply examples : inferior men were equally ambitious of high descent : whilst it may not be unworthy of remark, that the whole idea appears to have originated more from fashion or a natural impulse of the mind, than any consideration of state policy : for we by no means find that the people of Asia have ever distinguished themselves for attachment to royal blood ; having submitted

in general with equal facility to sovereign power, whether administered by the son of a prince or the son of a peasant.

SUCH having been the ruling passion in the East for illustrious descent, it is hardly necessary to observe, that Genealogy is a study so intimately connected with Historical knowledge, that it is impossible to arrive at any proficiency in the one, without being minutely versed in the other : but particularly on the present ground ; where appeals to the eras and actions of distinguished men, through whom it would be necessary to connect the chain of evidence, must have required a very critical acquaintance with chronology and public facts : to avoid obvious contradictions, and give an air of plausible accuracy to pedigrees, which, in many cases, must have been more specious than solid.

THE same elevation of sentiment, we may also observe, which inspired those high ideas of superior birth, led naturally to a wish for future fame. To add to the glory of a family line was a favourite object. Historians and poets were, of consequence, often in the train of a successful conqueror. They were witnesses of the events they were to deliver down to future times ; and they were neither expected to exaggerate or invent. The riches

and honours conferred therefore on men of genius, has nothing fimilar in our western world : whilst the freedom of their strictures, and the manlinefs of their moral leffons, will hardly be conceived by thofe who have been accuftomed to annex to Eastern minds the feelings alone of fervility and terror. We have, in confequence, particular histories, not only of almoft every Eastern Dynafty, and of every diftinguifhed prince, but of the principal countries and cities of Afia ; and moft of them written with fuch an apparent adherence to truth and impartiality, that they are almoft constantly preferred to European writers, by our modern hiftorians of the Cruzades, and other Eastern events of the middle ages. ^s

THE royal and noble authors of Afia are, at the fame time, numberlefs : a catalogue alone would fill a volume. I fhall here only take notice of the Vizir *Nezam ul mulk* ; as a fmall manufcript of that great man's will furnifh me with feveral facts relative to Eaftern manners. Nezam rofe from a private ftation in the eleventh century, to be Vizir to the Sultan Alp Arflan and his fon Malek-fhah Jelaleddin : which high office he held till near ninety years of age ; when he was ftabbed by a Batanift, one of the fubjects of the Old Man of the Mountain ; whilst he

was reading a petition which the assassin had presented. This Vizir was one of the most extraordinary men of any age or country. He was a complete statesman and a consummate general. He was learned : and a most munificent patron of learning. He founded and endowed many seminaries of science, but particularly a noble college at Baghdad. His palace was ever open to men of genius ; many of whom enjoyed great pensions from his private purse. They looked upon themselves as his subjects and children ; and usually attended their benefactor, on great solemnities, from every quarter of the empire. ^a

FROM the foregoing observations, which might be swelled by many authorities, I apprehend it will appear sufficiently evident, that the Persians and other Asiatics have been remarkably attentive to the annals of their country : that their materials for ancient history are upon a footing of respect not inferior to those of more Western nations : that their traditions are upon a ground as substantial as those of the Greeks, the Egyptians, and other people of high antiquity : and that the ambition of royal and noble descent, more conspicuous in Asia than even in the more Western regions, must have been productive of much

research, and opened uncommon channels for genealogical and historical investigation. ¹

WHEN we strengthen this chain of facts and probabilities, by considering how high in favour physicians and other learned Greeks were at the courts of almost every Mohammedan prince; when we consider the number of merchants and other travellers in perpetual motion between the East and West; when we consider the frequent embassies; the alliances by marriage; the familiarity of conversation which appears to have been supported with an ease wherein interpreters had evidently no concern: and when we add to the whole, the singular attachment of the princes of the East to almost every species of learning, whilst Constantinople was the theatre of every barbarity that could degrade human nature: the presumption is much stronger, that the Asiatics spoke Greek, than that the Grecians spoke Arabic or Persian. As every ground of reason seems to lead us therefore to conclude, that the Greek tongue was, for many centuries, known in the East, nearly as well perhaps as it is now in Europe; we must extinguish all curiosity in man, and contradict every characteristic disposition of human nature, if we suppose that the Grecian accounts of Ancient Asia should have remained, for so

many ages, wholly unknown to the men of erudition, who wrote ; or to the men of rank, who patronized them. History is one of the first objects which engages the attention, when dipping into a foreign tongue. Sovereigns and ministers of state must ever, above all men, be interested in knowing what strangers say relative to their own or neighbouring kingdoms. The Khalif *Almamoun*, in particular, was a prince of extensive erudition, and unbounded curiosity. He could not well be indifferent with regard to what the ancients might say relative to Babylonia, his royal residence and seat of government. He had ordered, without restriction, a general collection of Greek authors to be made for the purpose of translation ; and it is impossible to suppose that Historians could be excepted. They must have been submitted, amongst the rest, to the review of the learned : their subject would naturally be reported to the Khalif : and if not translated, it could apparently arise only from the consideration, that their history of those countries seemed merely the Tale of a Tub seriously told ; and by no means agreeable to the belief either of the aborigines of the country, or of the ingenious men of all nations, who, from every quarter of the empire, flocked to Baghdad, as the centre of magnificence and science. When

we reflect then, that the Mohammedan writers have paid no regard to the Grecian histories: that they have given us facts of a very different complexion: that no historian will ever presume to publish annals of his own country, totally dissimilar to the great lines of ancestral achievement, which must ever remain strongly impressed upon the minds of a people; and that those histories of Persia are considered as genuine by the Asiatics in general: no observation on the manners of mankind can justify a total disregard to them; though dissonant to the relations which we have hitherto been accustomed to receive. Modern compilers of Ancient History may wish indeed to conceal their ignorance of the languages and literature of the East under one general unsupported assertion, That they are wild, uninteresting, and obscure; but such a mode of indiscriminate censure can tend only to perpetuate error. Truth ought to be searched for wherever it can be found; and a well authenticated fact, if told by a Persian, an Arab, or a Chinese, should remove an improbability, though adorned with all the eloquence of Greece or Rome. *

It will not be conceived, however, that I wish any ancient story exploded but upon grounds of obvious propriety. A free and

candid investigation is all that is proposed. Even the most impossible and most absurd of the Grecian and Roman fables may keep their ground, till more rational and well supported facts appear to fill their room. Any thing is better than a vacuum. Geographers of unknown regions, according to the poet, place in their maps “Elephants instead of towns :” and there can be no harm in allowing the Elephantine legends of Old Greece still to amuse our leisure hours : but if a town is at length discovered, the Elephant should surely change his station. *Semiramis*, the *Argonauts*, *Sesostris*, and half the marvellous tales of early times, are all Elephants : but as they would leave a mighty blank in those high ages of fable, they may still continue to fill their respective niches ; like Bacchus, and Venus, and Hercules, and Ceres. But I cannot help thinking, that it is refining rather too much upon the credulity of man, to fix, like the great Newton, the precise epochas of those Pagan Gods and Heroes : introducing even eclipses, and other astronomical observations ; to demonstrate the eras and adventures of beings, whose existence stands upon a ground by no means more substantial than the *Gargantua* of *Rablais*, or the *Brobdignaggs* of *Lemuel Gulliver*. “ I do not pretend, says

“ Sir Isaac, (in the eighth page of his Chronology), to be exact to a year: there may be errors of five or ten years, and sometimes twenty, and not much above.” This publication, indeed, bearing the name of the immortal Newton, though highly built upon by subsequent chronologers, is so unspeakably inferior to that great man’s other works, that I am almost unwilling to believe its authenticity; and can hardly be persuaded he ever would have published it himself. The materials of which it is composed were probably mere memoranda, committed to paper in the intervals of relaxation from more abstracted studies. He could not but perceive contradictions and impossibilities in the ancient historians, and in the systems of those who had framed chronologies from their data. Something he might have meditated, and something we might have had, of authority similar to his higher demonstrations; had he lived to have sent it into the world, completely considered, and finished with that penetrating discernment, which so remarkably distinguished his philosophical investigations. But this remains to be regretted. Posthumous publications are always to be suspected; and many a great man’s fame has felt most cruel stabs

from the avidity of the public for even the gleanings of superior genius, and the undiscerning zeal of some surviving friends.

S E C T. IV.

Contradictions in Greek Historians and Chronologers. Queen Semiramis. The Argonautic expedition. Sesostris.

LET us now take a flight view of the consistency of the Greek writers, and the more modern chronologers, with regard to a few of the famous personages and events of antiquity, and then candidly determine the justice of their claim to unlimited belief and authority. — Queen *Semiramis*, according to Ctesias, lived about 2280 Before Christ: Helvicus says 2248 : Syncellus 2177 : Petavius 2060 : Eusebius 1984 : Dr. Jackson 1964 : Archbishop Usher 1215, Philobiblius (from Sanconiathon) 1200 : Sir Isaac Newton 760 : Herodotus 713 : and D'Herbelot, supposing her to have been the Persian queen Homai, grandmother to Darab II. (Darius Codomannus), brings her down within four hundred

years of our era. Diodorus, Strabo, Suidas, Arrian, and others, differ also in various degrees: whilst the actions they ascribe to her are as monstrous and impossible, as the disagreement of their respective eras. ^a

THE *Argonautic Expedition* has, by many learned men, been considered as a fact so unquestionable, that it has become a kind of grand era for ascertaining the more doubtful dates of many subsequent events. Sir Isaac Newton, by calculations of the retrograde motion of the Equinoctial and Solstitial points, called the Colures, from their supposed place then, till the year 1690, fixes this expedition about the year 937 before Christ, grounded chiefly upon a supposition, that the *Greek Sphere* was invented by two of the Argonauts *Chiron* and *Musæus*; who delineated the expedition, under the name of *Argo*, amongst the Asterisms. But this seems to be a fundamental error into which this great man has fallen, even in his own line. Canopus, the chief star of *Argo*, is only 37 degrees from the south pole: the greatest part of the constellation is still nearer to it. The course of the supposed voyage from Greece to Colchis lies between 39 and 45 degrees of north latitude. A few only of the lesser stars can possibly be seen in the whole track: whilst those of the first magni-

tude, and which alone are deserving of notice in every astronomical observation, are, in those parts, totally invisible. But had this sphere been constructed by the Argonauts; and had they wished to commemorate the enterprize by placing their ship amongst the stars; they must apparently have chosen a constellation which was conspicuous in Greece; and not one, the visible stars of which were too minute to attract attention, or to be of the least use in the direction of their navigation. But in fact the very foundation of this astronomical question has no basis: we have no previous demonstration of the era of Chiron and Musæus, or even of their existence. The invention of the sphere, rude as it confessedly was, and by no means a solid ground for exact calculation, is at the same time assigned to many who were not Argonauts: and their pretensions seem equally substantial. Diodorus ascribes it to Atlas; some attribute it to Palamedes; others to Nauficæa, the daughter of king Alcinous; and many deny it to have been *even of Grecian origin*, but to have come from Egypt. Granting therefore that the equinoxial colure actually passed through the middle of Aries, when that sphere was constructed, no argument can possibly be drawn from thence to fix the Argonautic expedition,

any more than the building of the pyramids, till it has been first of all shown that the Argonauts were the inventors. ^b

LET us next consider the Argonauts in point of number, their course, their achievements, and the time employed in the expedition. *Fifty-one* is the highest amount: some make them only *forty-four*. Yet these heroes, besides many other important feats, attack Laomedon and take Troy; they build cities and temples in various distant countries, which half a million could neither have erected nor peopled; and return to Greece in *four months*, or, according to some, in *two*. The course they steer is equally full of contradiction. On their return from Colchis, they found, it is said, Ætes, the king of that country, whose fleece and daughter they had stolen, prepared with a fleet to dispute their passage through the Bosphorus of Thrace. Declining an engagement, they struck across the Euxine, and sailed up the Danube, the Don, or some other river, through Northern Europe, into the Baltic; and thence returned, by the Mediterranean, to Greece. Some conduct them from the Danube to the Po or the Rhone; and others, by the southern ocean, through Lybia. Another class traces them over the great continent of Asia into the Indian ocean,

the Red Sea, and the Nile ; dragging their Argo all the way over mountains, or carrying it on their shoulders, where they could not conveniently fail. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the more minute deviations. Some make Jason the commander, others insist for Hercules ; and even the place of destination is varied from Colchis on the Euxine, to the extremity of the Indian coast. Diodorus, to give the whole an air of probability, contradicts in many respects, every prior account, and makes them return through the Hellespont ; leaving all their famous buildings, to which he himself, nevertheless, frequently alludes, to be reconciled to an agreement with this route by the reader or any subsequent historian. It would be endless to enlarge upon the various impossibilities of this celebrated enterprize : and indeed the accounts given by Diodorus, Strabo, and other later writers, were there no other inconsistency, seem at once to be a complete refutation of the whole. They saw the incongruity of their predecessors : absurdities and contradictions in almost every line could not well escape their penetration. They went therefore upon a different plan. They took part of one, part of another, threw in conjecture with a liberal hand ; and formed from the whole an hypothesis, which might

give an author some flight air at least of consistency with himself. Their tales are more plausible; yet still they are but tales: we cannot call them facts. Such however has been the system apparently adopted by every subsequent chronologer and compiler. Diodorus appears to have been the model. We have, in consequence, ancient events, not as they really happened, but as it was thought they should have happened. In their hands early history has acquired, in some respects, the superficial appearance of probability: but as much may be said for Pharamond or Casandra; and Oroondates, Arfaces, and the Fair Barsina, may throw in their claim to be realized, and to have their eras ascertained, with equal pretensions to reason as Hercules, Jason, or Medea.

To launch upon the ocean of chronology would require a separate and an extensive treatise. It may only be proper here to observe, that all the eminent men in this line have split upon the Rock of System. A favourite hypothesis being once adopted, they bend every thing to a co-incidence. Sir John Marsham and Sir Isaac Newton, for example, fancy a similitude between *Shishak* king of Egypt and *Sesostris*, whose being and period of existence is as doubtful as Semiramis.

The fabulous Sesostris conquered half the world; but the Shishak of Scripture only plundered Jerufalem and returned. All the resemblance that can be discerned is, that they are both said to have been kings of Egypt; and that they had both great armies: yet to force them into a point of contact, Sesostris is brought down some hundreds of years from the station where ancient historians had placed him; and circumstances totally dissimilar are racked into a most unsatisfactory proof of their similitude. But, with less violence, Charlemagne and Louis XIV. might be made the same person. They were both kings of France; both were powerful princes; and both possessed, to a very high degree, the thirst of extensive conquest, and the consequent luxury of making mankind wretched. ^d

S E C T. V.

The Chronology of the Sacred Writings perplexed by endeavouring to reconcile it with that of the Greeks. An attempt to adjust the Seventy years Captivity. Building on Eastern proper names, unsupported by facts, the rock on which Chronologers have split.

THE endeavours of commentators to reconcile all the events of ancient times to the history of the Greeks, have by no means been confined to pagan annals. The chronology of the Sacred Writing has, in many points, without the appearance of necessity, been forced into an analogy with their imaginary eras: in consequence of which, a variety of anachronisms have been introduced, which are in direct opposition to the *Historical Books of Scripture*, to the *Jewish Chronicles*, to *Josephus*, and to all observation on the longevity of man. I shall attempt to clear up one event, submitting, with much deference, the solidity of my conjectures to men of deeper research and superior abilities. The

Grecians have given us the history of a Persian King, called *κῦρος*, which we translate *Cyrus*. *Isaiah* prophesies, that a prince named *כורש* *Coresh* will release the *Jews* from captivity, and order the rebuilding of the temple. To reconcile these two princes, has been considered as an object of high importance ; and much learning has been employed to embarrass a much more simple and satisfactory chronology. The Jewish larger chronicle, and Josephus, finish the building of the temple only about *thirty-four* years before the fall of the Persian empire : the Samaritan interruptions had protracted the completion of the work near *twenty* years : the Macedonian conquest took place about the year 331 ; to which, if we add the *fifty-four* years above-mentioned, the proclamation of *Coresh* must have been issued about the year 385. But the *death of Cyrus* is placed, by the concurrence of our chronologers, in 529, or 144 years before this period : he therefore could not be the prince alluded to by *Isaiah*. As a confirmation of the probability of the Jewish dates, Josephus mentions expressly, that *Sanballat*, the Samaritan governor, who had given so much interruption to the building of the temple, *was alive in the time of Alexander* ; which is extremely possible by the above chro-

nology : but by the common system, he must then have exceeded 200 years of age. *Jaddua* was the High Priest who met Alexander on his return from the siege of Tyre, in the year 332. Now by the Sacred Writings we find, that *Jaddua* was the fifth in succession from *Jeshua*, who, together with *Zorobabel*, conducted home the captive Jews. This event, if connected with the *Grecian Cyrus*, must have been in the year 536, or 204 years before the above-mentioned meeting ; which happened in the *seventh* year of *Jaddua*'s priesthood. As *Jeshua* was probably advanced in age, when commissioned with *Zorobabel* to lead the captive people home, *seventeen* years may be a full allowance for his dignity, subsequent to that period ; which leaves *forty-five* years each to the other four ; a term far beyond all calculation and probability : especially as the Jewish high priesthood was remarkable for a very quick succession. The opinion and records of the Jews, when fixing the chronology of the building of this temple, an event which must have made so powerful an impression upon the minds of the whole nation, ought indeed to have been decisive ; where no opposition especially was found to the Canonical Books. But for no reason that can apparently be discovered, excepting to

force the *Coresh* of *Isaiah* to be the *Cyrus* of the *Greeks*, have our commentators laboured to involve a plainer narrative in darkness ; and to create with many a doubt of the whole, because there appeared irreconcilable contradictions in the parts. *

As an attachment to the chronology of Greece seems to have led therefore to many unnecessary liberties with Scripture, it cannot be improper to observe, how far the historians of Asia correspond with the Sacred Writings. Those kingdoms, known to us by the names of the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, appear, from the Eastern writers, to have formed early one great empire ; subject to the kings of Persia, on a tenure nearly resembling the feudal system. The principal of those dependent principalities seems to have been Babylon ; which, during the reign of Lohorab, was governed by a prince called *Nabocodnassar*, *Nakhtunassar*, and *Bakhtunassar* ; who is described as having pushed his conquests far into the West : and particularly, to have over-run Judea, and made captives of the inhabitants. His son and successor is painted as a brutal tyrant ; whose oppression of the Jews drew upon him the resentment of Ardesbir Dirazdest, king of Persia ; who removed him from the government, and ap-

pointed in his room *Coresh*, a prince of the blood, grandson of Lohorab. The mother of this prince, they add, was a Jewess; and this they give as one reason for the warmth with which he espoused the cause of that people: to whom he gave permission to return to Jerusalem, with every encouragement towards the *rebuilding of the temple*. Now let us observe the chronology, and we shall find a remarkable concurrence. Darab II. is said, by the Persian historians, to have reigned *fourteen* years: Darab I. *twelve*; and queen Homai *thirty*; whose immediate predecessor, as before observed, was Ardeshir. If we place then the issuing of the proclamation *two* years before Ardeshir's death, this brings it to the year 388, B. C. a difference of only *three* years from the Jewish dates; and of small consequence in such remote transactions. Ardeshir reigned long: let us suppose *thirty-eight* years before the proclamation of *Coresh*; add about *thirty* more for the reign of Kishab; and the commencement of the *Seventy years captivity* will be placed in the end of the reign of Lohorab, by whose orders Nabocodnassar, as before observed, conquered Syria, Palestine, and other Western districts. ^b

THE great lines coinciding thus, in a manner so singular, I shall proceed to observations

on the seeming disagreement of some inferior points. It appears evident, both from Daniel and the Persian historians, that *Coresh* or *Cyrus* acted a subordinate part in the taking of Babylon ; the name of his superior, being, according to the Sacred Writers, *Darius the Mede* ; but, according to the Persians, *Ardeshir*, called also *Bahaman*. No etymological ingenuity, it is certain, can discover a resemblance between those names : but that does not seem to be of the smallest consequence. The great rock, as observed above, upon which our chronologers have uniformly split, is an attention to the fancied similitude of names ; and to this they have often sacrificed every consistency of fact. But nothing can offer a more unsubstantial basis. It has been long a custom in the East for the reigning sovereign to give his son some important government, with the title of king ; and this name he generally changed when he succeeded to his father. The son and successor of Shapor II. in the fourth century, was called *Kermanshab*, and by European writers *Carmasat* ; but when he mounted the throne of Persia he assumed the name of *Baharam*. Jengiz Khan, in the early part of life, was called *Temujin*. Many of the Great Moguls have bore different names before their accession. Similar instances are

innumerable. It was also common in Greece : Plato was originally named *Aristo*. That an alteration of names prevailed greatly in old times, we have even remarkable proofs in the *Paralipomena* books of Scripture. When *Esther* was selected amongst other virgins for the royal choice, her former name *Hadassah* was dropt ; and a new one given to her, signifying, in Persian, *A Star*. When *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Misbael*, and *Azariah*, were chosen to attend the king, their names were changed to *Belteshezzar*, *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abednego*. All nations, we may also observe, have had a greater or less partiality for metonymical and metaphorical allusions : and many personages have been often described by some peculiar attribute, or title ; which was perfectly well understood by those to whom the speech or writing was addressed, though by no means obvious to others without a key. In the Sacred Writings, a history of the Persian empire is not intended : such points only are touched upon, as are connected with the annals of the Jews : to be intelligible to the chosen people is all that was proposed : the name, the title, or the epithet of the sovereign of Persia, which was most familiar to *them*, was consequently chosen : and whether it was the *King*, the *Great King*, *Darius*, or

any corresponding denomination, it was certainly a point of no importance, whilst they all were perfectly understood. *Dara*, as observed before, signifies, in Persian, a *Great King*; and the addition of *Median* might simply denote that his chief residence was in that country. The different Persian monarchs of the Kaianian dynasty, had a partiality for different cities in their extensive empire. Lohorashb was so remarkably fond of *Balkh* in Khorassan, that he is often called *Balkhi*. His successor Kishtashb gave the preference to *Istakhar* or *Persepolis*. Bahaman might have lived occasionally in *Media*; and possibly have marched from thence, attended by *Coresh*, on the expedition against Babylon. Queen Homaini was particularly attached to *Persepolis*; where the Asiatic historians say she built the celebrated palace which they name Chehel-minar, afterwards destroyed by Alexander: and, as this became the favourite abode of her successors till the Macedonian conquest, we accordingly find that every subsequent event, mentioned in the Sacred Writings, is referred to the time of *Darius the Persian*; tho' comprehending a period far beyond the reign of that prince: a circumstance which has induced Sir Isaac Newton to suppose *Darius the Persian* to include *Darius Nothus* as

well as *Darius Codomannus*: a theory by no means satisfactory, as it will not account for the silence of Scripture with regard to the intermediate princes, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arogon*. The whole endeavours of the learned, indeed, to reconcile the *Persian Kings of Scripture* to the *Persian Kings of the Greeks*, appear only to be productive of embarrassment: but if the theory now proposed is found to be just, Of considering many of the Scripture names as mere royal titles, it will correspond perfectly with the sublime figurative language of the Sacred Writers, and pave the way for removing several perplexing difficulties. The only Babylonish and Persian princes found in the Bible are *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evil Merodach*, *Balthazzar*, *Abasuerus*, *Darius the Mede*, *Cresh*, and *Darius the Persian*: *Artaxerxes* is also mentioned in *Nehemiah*. The first Babylonish prince corresponds exactly in name, era, and actions with the Persian historians. The next two are not named by them; being only, in general, considered as governors or feudatory princes under the Great King: and the others, I apprehend, are simply epithets, given indiscriminately to any of the Persian monarchs, like *Cæsar* or *Czar* in Europe. *Abasuerus* or *Achasuerus* has, in particular,

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been the subject of much etymological investigation. Sir Isaac Newton, by inadvertency, makes him, in one place, to be *Cyaxares*, and, in another, *Xerxes*. Archbishop Usher supposes him to be *Darius Hystaspes*; Scaliger, *Xerxes*; Josephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. Now each of these conjectures contradicts the other; and none of them co-incide with the common chronology of the Bible, excepting Usher. Four different princes are named; and a range is taken of 187 years: the reign of the first, according to Newton, commencing 611 years, and the last dying 424, before Christ. °

As such disagreements, amongst our most learned men, show clearly, that the basis must be wrong, there can be no impropriety in adding one conjecture more; which is, That *Abasuerus*, like *Darius*, is not the name of any individual prince, but a title; and probably derived, by a very simple Persian etymology, from *Chosru*; which signifies a *Great King*. *Chosru* or *Kai Chosru* was the third prince of the Kaianian dynasty; whose successful wars against the Turanians or Scythians, the old hereditary enemies of Persia, had greatly extended and firmly established the empire. His reputation was high in Asia: he was almost adored by his subjects, and by after-genera-

tions. The names of distinguished men in the East, have frequently been assumed as titles by succeeding princes; and they have been often given to them by foreign nations, whether they assumed them or not. Many kings of the Ashkanian and Sassanian dynasties bore the name of this ancient Persian monarch, by way of adjunct or surname, as *Chosru Parviz*, *Chosru Nushirvan*: and the Romans gave the name of *Cosroes* to almost every sovereign of the Sassanian race. That foreigners might, in older times, have done the same with respect to the Kaianian princes, is entirely consistent with probability. And upon this ground we shall obviate another difficulty, with regard to *Abasuerus*, which seems difficult to be reconciled on other principles; and furnishes, at the same time, a strong presumptive argument in support of the present theory. We find an *Abasuerus* in *Esther*, and an *Abasuerus* in *Ezra*. Now according to the common Scripture and Greek chronology, these cannot be the same individual prince. The marriage of the first with Esther is placed about the year 515 before Christ. *Cyrus*, as before observed, died in 529, and *Darius Hystaspes*, succeeding Smerdis Magus in 521, reigned till 485. But in *Ezra* we find the succession to be *Cyrus*,

Darius, and *Ahasuerus*. This last prince must have reigned therefore after *Darius*, not earlier than 485 ; and could not reign likewise, cotemporary with him, in 515. Should the advocates for archbishop Usher's idea even insist, that, notwithstanding this passage, there was still but one *Ahasuerus*, and that *Ahasuerus* was *Darius* ; for the sake of argument, it might be granted, without weakening the hypothesis : as it would then demonstrate, that the same prince is called in the Bible both *Darius* and *Ahasuerus* ; and that they were consequently both royal titles, and indiscriminately used. It may perhaps be said, that if these were royal titles, the prefixing of *Melech*, or any similar word, implying a sovereign, as *King Darius*, or *King Ahasuerus*, would be a tautological redundancy. But that would be an objection of no weight, nothing being more common in the East : a famous prince in the eleventh century, amongst many instances, being called *Sultan Malek Shah*, which literally signifies *King King King*.^a

THE apparent conclusions to be drawn from the preceding observations, are, That the Greeks and Romans in their ancient histories, especially of distant countries, are often wrong ; and, in general, liable to suspicion :

That their accounts of the East, as well with regard to manners, as historic facts, are inconsistent with the Asiatic authors ; irreconcilable with Scripture ; contradictory in themselves ; and often impossible in nature : That as the later writers, Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, are often in complete opposition to the earlier historians, and complain of the repugnances with which they are every where perplexed, nothing can more strongly point to a fundamental error : That modern chronologers, commentators, and compilers of Ancient History, differ likewise greatly in opinion ; supporting frequently their systems by points of a most doubtful complexion, and rejecting others of a far more probable appearance : That a resemblance of names is often preferred to a consistency in facts : That the inventions of superstition, or the fictions of poets, are often viewed as real events ; and the same critical accuracy employed in fixing the early epochs of imaginary beings, as in resolving the most rational truths of more authentic times. That such being the uncertain basis of Ancient Story, no materials ought to be despised : That the Persian and Arabian historians are intitled to attention, in whatever regards their own countries ; their relations being grounded at least on national belief ;

and national belief never originating without some foundation : That the mere priority in time of the Western to the Eastern writers, when unsupported by circumstances of higher evidence, should give no preference in regard to authority : as, upon the same principles, we might rank a *Ctesias* before *Plutarch* ; a *Roger de Hoveden* before *Hume* ; or a *Gregory of Tours* before *De Thou* : That we may perceive some strong lines of truth in the Eastern historians, from their concurrence with the Bible, in the few facts mentioned above : whilst even their silence on some heads, with their slight variation in others, furnish high presumption of their authenticity : for had they been exactly in conformity with the Scripture, we should naturally have concluded, that their materials had been borrowed from thence ; and considered them merely in the light of translations. But the manner in which they are told shows, that the great lines were independently known in Persia ; and that the difference is simply what might have been expected between Sacred Writers, who had every opportunity of information ; and the annalists of another country, who neither had such advantages, nor were so deeply interested in the events. °

THE usefulness of the Arabic language, in the illustration of Scripture, has indeed long been generally acknowledged ; whilst the Persian, little studied by the learned, has hardly ever been considered as an auxiliary in this important point. Yet when we reflect upon the intimate connection of a great part of the history of the Jews with that of Persia, it is difficult to account for this singular inattention, upon any ground but the supposition, That the old dialect of Persia is lost ; and that the modern can give no assistance in remote enquiries. But this, as I have before observed, seems to be a surmise, unsupported by the slightest authority : the pure Persian now in use being evidently of very high antiquity ; and apparently the chief language in which any thing Persian, worth preservation or recovery, has been written by the ancient natives : however it may have been disguised under a variety of perplexing characters, which few have given themselves the trouble to consider with attention. Should the Arabic and Persian languages ever become therefore, like the Greek and Latin, objects of general education ; and learned men, freed from the fetters of prejudice, be once brought to suppose, that Grecian and Roman information may *sometimes* be assisted or corrected by

a judicious study of Eastern authors, many discoveries must evidently be expected; which may furnish a variety of useful clues to the dark labyrinths of Ancient Mythology, History, and Manners. ^f

S E C T. VI.

Usefulness of the Arabic and Persian languages in throwing light on early times. Strictures on Mr. Bryant's New System or Analysis of Ancient Mythology.

AMONGST other learned men who, apparently from an idea of their modern date, have disputed the utility of the Arabic and Persian languages, in the investigation of remote antiquity, is the ingenious author of *A New System or Analysis of Ancient Mythology*; a work in which the novel ingenuity of the Analytic System; the penetration and judgment displayed in the refutation of vulgar errors; with the new and informing light in which he has placed a variety of ancient facts; leaves the learned world only to regret,

that this classical writer had not, to his singular knowledge in Greek and Roman literature, added some tincture of the languages and learning of the East. As there appears, however, to be an impropriety in any person's condemning what he confessedly does not understand; and as this learned gentleman has attacked a province, which I conceive it is my duty to defend; I shall endeavour to remove some of the prejudices which he may have created: as the errors of a writer of uncommon abilities, who has laid down canons for future history, may have a more dangerous tendency than the mistakes of inferior men, whom few read, and still fewer follow. *

THE chief points, which Mr. Bryant means to establish, are, *First*, The universality of the Deluge from Gentile authorities. *Secondly*, The migration, after the Babel dispersion, of a people whom he calls *Cuthites* or *Amonians*, the descendants of *Chus* the son of *Ham*. *Thirdly*, The Arkite ceremonials, with the general worship of the Sun and Fire, as introduced by those people into the different countries where they established colonies. ^b

TWO great lines, our learned author observes, marked, in particular, the Amonian character; The monuments and rites which they every where instituted, as memorials of

the Universal Deluge; and The proofs they every where left of their idolatrous worship of the Sun and Fire. With regard to the first great event, I shall only observe, in general, that the departing from the Sacred Writings, to prove the destruction of mankind by Pagan authorities, however laudable the intention, seems first to shake to the foundations the venerable fabrick, and then to prop it with a bullrush. For, where recourse is had to feeble and imperfect evidence, a cause must ever be hurt in proportion to its failure. Yet, as if truth wanted the aid of fiction, innumerable have been the attempts of the learned to establish, by forced and unnatural construction, a conformity between the early history of the Hebrews and the later fables of Greece, Egypt, and other ancient nations. From the fragments of Berosus, Sanconiathon, Manetho, and other remote fablers, any thing, and every thing, may indeed be drawn, which a lively imagination can suggest; but the working up of such strange materials into any circumstance descriptive of Noah's Deluge, shews a warmth of fancy, highly prepared for the reception of every thing marvellous. Whilst, giving them all their utmost force, they prove, at last, precisely nothing: for ingenious men, if resolved to apply to profane materials in

support of Scripture, ought to go to mountainous districts, and to countries far removed from the possibility of natural inundations : they ought to consider Hindostan, and other quarters of the world, where they positively refuse to believe this important event. Testimonies from such regions would be far more conclusive than hundreds of volumes from Egypt and Chaldea. The periodical overflowings of the Nile, it is easy to imagine, might have proved fatal to the first inhabitants of Egypt, till experience had taught them to guard against its inundations ; whilst the terror naturally filling the minds of rude men, who, with difficulty, had escaped a deluge in which their dearest friends had perished, might easily give rise to ten times more superstitious rites than ever investigation has discovered in ancient Egypt. The same arguments will hold with equal force, in regard to the still darker glimmerings from Babylonia ; where mounds, canals, and all the efforts of the ruling powers for thousands of years, have not been able to prevent the sudden desolation which the Euphrates and Tigris have often spread around. To advance, in short, as proofs of an Universal Deluge, such ceremonies as the processions of Egyptian priests, with a boat and a strange figure, ap-

pears to be equally unsatisfactory, as the demonstration of a general destruction by fire would have been, from observations on the environs of Mounts Vesuvius or *Ætna*. °

THE next point, in relation to the Cuthite or Amonian worship of the Sun and Fire, I shall consider with more attention ; as the strongest arguments seem naturally to spring from the subject, to demonstrate the usefulness of the Arabic and Persian languages, in relation to the history and mythology of ancient times ; and show convincingly, at the same time, that the most intimate acquaintance with the literature of Greece and Rome will lead the greatest critical acumen but a little way without such assistance. To make the subsequent observations more intelligible, it will be proper to give two extracts from the learned author's preface, which will fully show the ground-work of his ingenious hypothesis.

“ It is necessary for me to acquaint the reader,
“ that the wonderful people, to whom I al-
“ lude, were the descendants of Chus ; and
“ called Cuthites and Cuseans. They stood
“ their ground at the general migration of fa-
“ milies : but were at last scattered over the
“ face of the earth. They were the first
“ apostates from the truth ; yet great in
“ worldly wisdom. They introduced, where-

“ ever they came, many useful arts ; and
 “ were looked up to, as a superior order of
 “ beings : hence they were stiled, Heroes,
 “ Dæmons, Heliadæ, Macarians. They were
 “ joined in their expeditions by other nations ;
 “ especially by the collateral branches of their
 “ family, the Mizraim, Caphtorim, and the
 “ sons of Canaan. These were all of the
 “ line of Ham, who was held, by his poste-
 “ rity, in the highest veneration. They call-
 “ ed him Amon : and having, in process of
 “ time, raised him to a divinity, they wor-
 “ shipped him as the sun : and from this
 “ worship they were stiled Amonians.”——
 “ Most ancient names, not only of places but
 “ of persons, have a manifest analogy ; there is
 “ likewise a great correspondence to be ob-
 “ served in terms of science, and in the titles
 “ which were, of old, bestowed upon magis-
 “ trates and rulers. The same observation
 “ may be extended even to plants and mine-
 “ rals, as well as to animals, especially to
 “ those which were esteemed at all sacred ;
 “ their names seem to be composed of the
 “ same or similar elements, and bear a mani-
 “ fest relation to the religion in use among
 “ the Amonians, and to the deity whom they
 “ adored. This deity was the sun ; and most
 “ of the ancient names will be found to be

“ an assemblage of titles bestowed upon that
“ luminary. In consequence of this, I have
“ ventured to give a list of some Amonian
“ terms, which occur in the mythology of
“ Greece and in the histories of other nations.
“ Most ancient names seem to have been
“ composed out of these elements ; and into
“ the same principles they may be again re-
“ solved by an easy and fair evolution. I sub-
“ join to these a short interpretation, and, at
“ the same time, produce different examples
“ of names and titles, which are thus com-
“ pounded. From hence the reader will see
“ plainly my method of analysis, and the ba-
“ sis of my etymological enquiries.”^d

THUS has this learned gentleman created a people to fill up every chasm of high antiquity, and to account for all the phenomena of early population, history, and superstition. As the Sacred Writings, however, afford no lights to trace the wanderings of this extraordinary family ; and as all his gleanings from profane tradition might with equal force, in the same ingenious hands, prove Confucius to be William the Conqueror ; his substantial proofs, in my apprehension, amount to nothing : the great weight of his evidence resting chiefly on the ground of etymological deduction. Such being the station he has chosen to con-

trovert the systems of all preceding writers, and to fix the principles of all succeeding history, it could have been wished, that the most unquestioned strength had marked his fundamental axioms; that the definitions of his elementary particles had been precisely fixed; that the languages, whence he has drawn the meanings he has annexed, had been distinctly specified; and that not a doubt should have been left upon the reader's mind with regard to the great basis upon which his fabric stands. But on this leading point, assertion seems too often to have usurped the province of proof: of above forty radicals, a half at least do not appear to approach the senses he has given them: whilst, misled by his ear and his eye, he has fancied analogies, which the languages will not bear; and drawn conclusions, to which the premises seem completely foreign. *

ONE great endeavour of our learned author is to trace to his Cuthites the origin of Solar and Igneous worship: and, in order to fix this theorem, he brings forward a number of particles, which, he says, in ancient times signified the *Sun* or *Fire*. But as he seldom mentions in what particular language they were recived in those senses, doubts naturally arise. To the Sun, as a mere astronomical

body, or to the Fire, as a simple element, few of them appear to bear the most remote relation : and, in any other sense, descriptive of them as objects of adoration, they might, with equal propriety, be adduced to authenticate the worship of the Egyptian Onion, the Druids Oak, or the great Arabian Stone Devil in the valley of Mouna. For how far they may have been figuratively applied, will prove only the traces of *general* superstition ; without pointing either to the nature, origin, or votaries of any *particular* mode of worship : because *great, glorious,* and such epithets, which some of those words imply, may have been indiscriminately bestowed upon every stock or stone, which the folly of man has, at any time, thought proper to treat with respect. ^f

THE first of those particles which I shall take notice of, is *el* or *al*. In Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian, this word has many different meanings ; and, amongst others, signifies *a god* : but without the least authority to suppose that it ever had any particular affinity to the Sun. In a variety of instances, however, it is merely the Arabic article *the* ; as *Elain* The fountain, *Elaur* The Fire, *Ain al sham* The fountain of Syria, *El said* The Prince ; &c. “ The deity *El*, Mr. Bryant

“ says, was particularly invoked by the Eas-
 “ tern nations, when they made an attack in
 “ battle : at such time they used to cry out
 “ *El-el* and *Al-al*. This Mohammed could
 “ not bring his profelytes to leave off, and
 “ therefore changed it to *Allah*.” But this
 appears to have no foundation, and the learn-
 ed gentleman produces no proof. I have not
 been able to discover, that the Arabians ever
 entertained the least partiality for *El*, as a di-
 vinity : nor is the name even to be found
 amongst the numerous idols worshipped by
 the different tribes : a circumstance extremely
 improbable, had it ever been remarkable as
 an object of their invocation. *Allah*, on the
 contrary, is a word of much antiquity ; and
 was certainly in use among the Arabians long
 before the era of Mohammed. I shall men-
 tion one unquestionable authority. The prince
 Amralkeis, a cotemporary of Mohammed,
 was one of the most celebrated of the Arabian
 poets ; and the author of one of the famous
 poems, formerly mentioned, called *Moalla-*
kat ; which, on account of their superior ex-
 cellence, were hung up in the temple of
 Mecca. In this poem, *Allah* occurs ; where
 it never could have appeared, had it been
 an innovation of Mohammed. Two reasons
 seem to be conclusive ; *first*, The rooted aver-

sion and contempt that prince ever entertained for the prophet and his religion, which would have made him despise the idea of adopting any thing originating from him: and, *secondly*, The certainty that this poem must have been written, and suspended in the Kaaba, before Mohammed's public appearance; or at least before he had obtained influence sufficient with the Arabians, to make them depart from established usages: for after he had got that Temple into his power, we find no more poems hung up there. To have admitted any thing indeed into that sacred fabric, which supported not the new religion, would have been considered as a high profanation: and we cannot surely suppose, that the productions of a professed pagan, a personal enemy to the prophet, and an open scoffer at the Moslem faith, should have met with that favour which was denied from this period to all the world. Another proof that *Allah* was of old used for Omnipotence amongst the Arabians, may be drawn from the following circumstances. The chief religion that prevailed in this country, before the Mohammedan, was the Sabian: which inculcated a belief in one Supreme Deity; in the stars and angels, as his subordinates; and in idols, as their representatives. Of those idols the principal was *Allat*, or *Ali-*

bet (the feminine of Allah), whom they considered as the eldest daughter of God ; and worshipped, in that character, with the highest degree of devotion. If the Arabians had therefore any species of war-cry before their prophet's era, it was probably either *Allah*, which they use still, or *Allat*, their favourite goddess : both of which are derived from a root wholly dissimilar to *El*. Was any further argument necessary, to prove that this was no introduction of the Arabian lawgiver, the silence of the Alcoran would alone, perhaps, be sufficient : for had this cry ever prevailed, and had it ever been considered as an object of alteration by Mohammed, it must have been mentioned in that book : there being no point to which the prophet was more strictly attentive than to introduce into it, by the pretended ministry of the angel Gabriel, every innovation, however trifling, which he judged proper to make, in the religion, laws and manners of his countrymen : in order to gain respect, and secure obedience to his mandates ; which, by this device, he persuaded his followers, were the immediate dictates of heaven.^s

On, or *eon*, is said to be an Egyptian name of the Sun ; and for this we have the authority of the priest Manetho, as quoted by Eusebius and Theophilus. I shall not dispute it ;

but only observe, that every thing relative to the old Egyptians is so strangely involved in hieroglyphic darkness and absurdity, that we know little, which bears the semblance of probability, with regard to their history, their religion, or their language. The kahens, or priests, it appears, had a mysterious character of their own; and as every expression of common sense seems to have been considered by them as dangerous to their power, by removing the barrier of superstition from between them and the people; symbols, which meant any thing and nothing, were used as the only medium of religious communication. The rude and hideous hieroglyphics on their obelisks, have no analogy to those of any people in the world; nor has any enquiry fixed the most remote resemblance between their sacred dialect and that of any adjacent state. To build therefore Syrian, Chaldean, or Phrygian rites, dignities, and cities, on Egyptian etymologies, appears, at best, a most suspicious ground; and certainly very unfit to bear a superstructure of any magnitude. ^a

THE etymological combinations and derivatives from *Ham*, the son of the patriarch Noah, and the supposed progenitor of the Cuthite family, are introduced, in a variety of lights, as great authorities in support of the

existence of this uncommon people ; and of the adoration of the Sun and Fire, which they are said to have so universally propagated. But on this head I have many doubts. *Ham*, in the Hebrew, as well as in the Arabic, is spelt with a letter, the true pronunciation of which is a strong aspiration, resembling *b* in *Hound*. Wherever Europeans have therefore written it *Cham*, it must apparently have proceeded either from inadvertency, or to accommodate it to a similar sound in their own languages. The Germans and Dutch, in particular, will ever adopt this mode, because they universally give *ch* a strong guttural pronunciation ; but in English and other languages it seems to be wrong ; as this Eastern word can never, with propriety, be pronounced like *Character* ; but precisely as *Hound* above-mentioned, or as *Ham*, the manner in which it has been uniformly and judiciously expressed by the translators of our English Bible. The combinations, in which hard *Ch* or *C* is introduced, appear, for these reasons, to have no natural concern with the name of the patriarch ; and must, if they have any meaning, be looked for in various and very distinct roots : though chance and corruption may possibly, after all, lay a stronger claim to the far greater number, than the most ingenious

analysis can trace to a more legitimate origin. It may be said indeed, and with truth, that some nations have universally given the hard sound of *ch* to this letter; the Italians in particular writing and pronouncing Mohammed *Machomete*. But this is evidently a corruption: corruptions are not uniform; Persians, Syrians, Greeks, indeed all nations, corrupt differently. Yet Mr. Bryant brings names from China to Rome, beginning with hard *C* and *Ch*: and all of them, he says, derived from *Ham*: but till it can be demonstrated, that these various nations, dissimilar in almost every point of view, are, nevertheless, uniform in their mode of corrupting foreign words, we shall hardly be induced to believe, that those names challenge an origin from one common radical word. — *Amon* or *Omanus*, and similar names which he also deduces from *Ham*, seem, if possible, to be still more vague. The Hebrew and the Arabic differ remarkably in their formation from most other tongues. In these the alphabets are divided into certain letters, which they call *radicals*, and *serviles*. The first are as essential to the texture of a word, as the head is to the human body: and excepting in position, must ever remain unaltered; conjugation, declension, with every species of inflexion, derivation and composi-

tion, being performed by the intermediation of the serviles. As these are placed not only at the beginning and end of words, but also in the middle, the radicals are consequently often separated; and they are sometimes transposed: but to omit any of those indispensable letters, or to add a radical to a root already complete, is absolutely inconsistent with the genius of the tongues; and wholly destructive of the words; as either depriving them altogether of sense, or giving them meanings incompatible with the intrinsic significations of their themes. Now the initial *h* in *Ham* is a radical letter: to remove it, is precisely removing the whole word; *Amon*, on those principles, can apparently have no reference to the son of Noah; and every conclusion drawn from the *Amonian* appellative of the Cuthite people, seems to be a foundation by far too slight to support the edifice, which the learned gentleman has erected upon it.

Ait, we are next told, is the *Sun*; but still without mentioning in what dialect. *Ait*, in Hebrew and Arabic, signifies a *sign*, *wonder*, *miracle*, &c. and in this sense *Ait-el* (which, according to Mr. Bryant, implies *Deus Sol*) may be rendered *The wonderful God*; and *Ait-ur*, *The miraculous fire*, instead of *The fire or heat of the Sun*. *Athyr*, one of the old

Egyptian months, of Chaldean extraction, which he derives from this combination, seems to come from a different origin; and may perhaps be the same with the Persian *Azyr* or *azer*, which signifies *Fire*, *lightning*, *the Angel of fire*; and also a month, which corresponded anciently with March, and now with November. That the Chaldeans and Persians had many words in common, is unquestionable; whilst the difference of pronunciation is nothing but what is usual in every word where such letters are found; the Jews, the Arabians, and probably the Egyptians, giving often the hard sound *t'h*, *dh*, *ds*, &c. to those characters, which the Persians soften into *z* or *s*.

As, *is*, or *ees*, is also said to be the *Sun*. In Hebrew, *as* undoubtedly denotes *Fire*; and may, possibly, have been figuratively applied to the Star of Day: I shall here confine my observations therefore to some mistakes into which Mr. Bryant has been apparently led by a similarity of sounds. “*As*, he says, is “sometimes compounded with itself, and rendered *afas* and *azaz* ;” and thence he draws a variety of conclusions, as if the combinations from *afas* or *afis*, and *azaz* or *aziz*, were deducible from the same original: but Cicero and Scanderbeg are not more distinct than

the roots from whence they spring ; the first implying, in Hebrew, as before observed, *Fire* ; and, in Arabic, *A foundation, origin, first principle* ; the other denoting *Glory, dignity, power, &c* : whilst the initial letters are, at the same time, not only quite different, but *s* and *z*, however interchangeable sometimes in other languages, (as *patronize, patronise ; authorize, authorise*, in English), are equally remote, in the Eastern dialects, from promiscuous use, as the most opposite sounding characters in the alphabet. *Atesh*, Fire, it may also be remarked, can never possibly be derived from *ad-is*. the radicals being totally irreconcilable ; an objection that indeed may be made to the names of almost all the countries, temples, lakes, and fountains ; which, by combination, transposition, and fancied analogy, he lays down, as originating from *as* or *az*.[†]

San, son, zan, zaan, Mr. Bryant says, was the most common name for the Sun ; but in what Eastern dialect we are not informed. Upon this ground, he observes, however, that the Indian *Hercules*, or the Greek *Dorsanes*, was an abridgement of *Adorsan* ; which he interprets *Lord of light* : but we have no proof that *ador* ever signified a *Lord*, or *san* the *Sun* or *Light*. *Ador* may be translated, in Arabic,

The power of fire: but I would rather suppose it to be the same as the Persian *Azer* (Fire) mentioned above; for, by the difference of pointing, or provincial pronunciation, it may be founded *azor*, *azer*, *azyr*, *ador*, &c. *San*, when subjoined to nouns in the Persian language, implies *similitude*; *Adorsan* or *Azersan* may signify therefore *resembling fire*, *splendid*, *bright*: and, consequently, it may, with propriety, have been applied as an epithet or attribute to a deity. *Barsanes*, an ancient king of Armenia, is also said to denote *Barsan*, or *offspring of the Sun*; yet still as we dispute *san*'s relation to the sun, it is impossible to admit it. *Bar*, as an adjunct, denotes *a country*, as *Malabar*, *Tranquebar*, &c. it also implies *great*, *elevated*; and, in that sense, is often joined with the name of God: *San* signifies *dignity*, *grandeur*, *honour*, &c. A combination of such terms may naturally furnish good etymological grounds for religious or royal titles, without any relation to the sun; but I will go a little farther, and just hint, that *Barsan* may be corrupted from *Barzan* or *Berzin*, which in Persian denotes *Fire*, *a temple of fire*, *a chief priest of fire*; and absolutely the name of the reputed founder of the first temple of fire in Armenia: in which country, by Grecian as well as Eastern tradition, this

mode of worship is said to have originated ; and to have been carried from thence by Zoroaster into Persia. As the king was often, at the same time, high priest, the proposed etymology may not, perhaps, be altogether ideal.^m

Ast, asta, esta, bestia, signified, our learned author says, the *Fire, or the deity of that element* ; but still we are left in the dark with regard to the tongue. On this supposition, however, he disputes an etymology of Dr. Hyde with respect to *Istakhar* or *Persepolis* ; and I must venture to differ not only from both, but even from the Farhang Jehangiri. The learned Doctor imagines this city to have been named from a palace or temple hewn out of a Rock ; and derives it, in consequence, from the eighth conjugation of an Arabic verb, which has a reference to *Stones*. The derivation is sufficiently vague in any point of view ; but the tracing it to an Arabic origin seems to destroy it at once. It is not till the seventh century of the Christian era, as before observed, that we are to look for the introduction of Arabic words into the Persian language : whilst *Istakhar* is a city of such high antiquity, that the origin is lost in uncertainty and fiction. King Gemshid is the historical founder of it : Romance carries it beyond Adam, and ascribes it to Jan ben Jan, the

king of the Genii : the one indeed may be as fabulous as the other ; but they both incontrovertibly prove its extreme antiquity. To suppose then, that the Persians, who appear, in all ages, to have been remarkably attentive to give every place a name, in their own tongue, expressive of some peculiar quality, or commemorative of some great event, should, on the foundation of their metropolis, their chief temple, or their royal palace, have recourse to a language they apparently knew nothing of ; and spoken by a people whose political consequence could then intitle them to no superior respect ; appears equally visionary as hunting for the etymologies of London or Paris, in the dialects of China or Japan. Mr. Bryant is led to question this derivation, but upon grounds I am afraid more refined than solid. “ I am entirely a stranger (says he) “ to the Persic and Arabic languages ; yet I “ cannot acquiesce in his opinion. . . . The “ place, to be sure, is built of stone taken “ from a quarry or rock : but what temple “ or palace is not ?” This reasoning does not seem conclusive ; for, were there not, even in England, numberless palaces and churches built of materials very different from stone, the caprice of founders cannot always be accounted for : and he might, with the same

force of argument, dispute the existence of *Civita Vexchia*, or *Newcastle*; because all cities must, in time, grow old; and every castle must have once been new. But the interpretation which this objection is meant to introduce, stands upon a bottom by no means more substantial; for where does *Esta* signify *fire*, and *char* a *palace* or a *temple*? Not apparently in the Persian, to which alone we ought to look for the etymon of a Persian metropolis: and this idea has accordingly been followed by the author of the *Farhang*, who deduces it from a word, which in that language signifies a *large cistern* or *tank* hollowed out of the rock: but this derivation appears also to be exceptionable; as every circumstance of likelihood will lead us rather to imagine, that the cistern, instead of originally bestowing a name, received its own afterwards from the temple; to which it was not only inferior in importance, but subsequent probably in point of time: whilst the sacred application of its waters, to some of the higher mysteries of their religion, might soon cause the name universally to prevail, and to denote, in general, any similar reservoir of water: as *Spaw* is now, from its celebrity, applied often by us to denote any mineral spring. Having thus dissented from such respectable authorities,

I shall now proceed to hazard two etymologies, which have at least the appearance of standing upon a broader and more simple basis. *Ista* denotes a *place, station, dwelling* (from the Persian verb *Istaden*, To stand, remain, dwell); *Khur* or *Khar* signifies the *Sun*: whence *Istakhar* will naturally imply, the *place or temple of the Sun*. *Ista, esta, or asta*, means also *praise* (from the verb *sutuden*); and, in this sense, the combination of these words will express *Praise of the Sun*: both of which interpretations seem to be unforced; and to be highly characteristic of the capital and chief temple of an empire, where, from time immemorial, the Sun had been the great ostensible object of adoration. "

Shem, shamen, and shemesb, we are next told, are terms relative to the Heavens, and to the Sun; and here we have Hebrew authority: but every conclusion the learned gentleman has formed, from the premises, is another demonstrative proof, how much in the dark the best judgment must wander; when building upon etymological definitions, without a knowledge of the languages whence the information should be drawn. *Samos, Samothrace, Samora*, and such names, if they really are of Eastern extraction, must flow from very different roots: whilst the chief point he

endeavours to fix, That Syria *from its name*, was peculiarly devoted to Solar worship, falls to the ground ; neither of the names, *Sham* nor *Syria*, having the smallest reference to the Sun. *Sham*, by which that country is most generally known to the Asiatics, is a root so little connected with the Hebrew *Shemesh* or the Arabic *Shems*, that no inflexions of those languages can ever possibly produce the most remote analogy. *Sham*, *Shamet*, or *Shamé* implies *Black*, a *black mole upon the face, the left hand, &c.* and this last signification is that which is in general received by the Arabians and the Syrians themselves : a name, they say, this country obtained, at the same time that Arabia Felix was called *Yemen*, which implies the *right hand* ; the one lying to the right and the other to the left of the *Kaaba*, or temple of Mecca. This is the derivation adopted, in particular, yet with some doubt, by the celebrated Sultan *Abulfeda*, who reigned in Syria about the middle of the fourteenth century ; and wrote, in Arabic, an *Universal History*, and a *System of Geography*. Upon this etymology, Mr. Bryant observes, “ *Abulfeda* supposes, that Syria is called *Scham* “ *quasi sinistra*. It was called *Sham* for the “ *same reason that it was called Syria.* Συρος “ *περὶ ὁ ἥλιος* the same as *Σειριος*. Persæ Συρη

“Deum vocant.”—“Syria is called at this day Souristan. Souris from Sehor, Sol, Σειπιος of Greece.” But here, instead of correcting one error, our learned author has made two : because were there even such a word in Persian, as above asserted, denoting the Sun ; the Asiatics would hardly write *Souri* or *Souristan* from the root *Sehor* ; as *h* is a radical, and cannot be dispensed with. Abulfeda’s etymology obviously rejects the Sun ; as a man of his learning and penetration could not possibly have been perplexed about the origin of his kingdom’s name, had he seen any rational ground of derivation from that luminary. Yet it must be confessed, that the idea which he has followed, unless more exactly defined, is by no means convincing : for neither *Yemen* nor *Sham* appear to have any positive relation, in point of Right or Left, to the Kaaba ; which must depend entirely upon the position a person may take when considering this temple. If you view it towards the north, these countries are undoubtedly found in the above positions ; but turning towards the south, they are reversed ; and in the Eastern and Western directions, they are neither right nor left.—With regard to Syria I shall here hazard an etymology, which, whether it may be esteemed just or not, flows at least from the simple

untortured meaning of the word. This country has been ever famed for *roses*; the Damasc rose is celebrated even by our English poets. *Suri* in Persian denotes a species of this flower, beautiful in colour and delicate in smell: *Suristan*, or the *land of roses*, might consequently, with much propriety, have been given by the Persians, to a country which produced them in such perfection and abundance. *Stan* or *istan*, the adjunct, is, like our *shire*, sometimes added, sometimes dropt; *Fars* or *Farsistan*, *Suri* or *Suristan*, being indifferently used, as we say *Wilts* or *Wiltshire*. *Συρία* is therefore pure Persian, with the Greek termination; and through this medium comes our *Syria*, substituting only *y* for the Greek *υ*, upon the same principles with other similar words adopted from that tongue (as *system* from *Συστημα*); the English pronunciation having no sound precisely corresponding with the Greek *ypsilon*. Having had occasion to mention *stan* or *istan* above, it may not be improper to point out some mistaken conclusions which Mr. Bryant has drawn from this termination. “*Tin*, he observes, signified a kind of high altar; that it prevailed amongst the ancient Hetrurians; that it formed the compounds *Numantinus*, *Palatinus*, *Aventinus*; and that it appears to be the same with *tan* in the

“ East, which occurs occasionally in *Mogulistan*, *Indos-tan*, *Pharfis-tan*, *Chusis-tan*.”

In regard to the Roman examples, it seems to be straining, to the utmost, etymological refinement, to make any thing more of them than mere possessive adjectives; as these names appear to have no more title to any meaning of mystery, than *Alexandrine* from *Alexander*, *legatine* from *legat*: but with respect to the Asiatic illustrations, which are produced in support of this ingenious theory, they have positively not the least foundation; neither *tan* nor *tin*, in this sense, being even known in any Eastern dialect, as will be more fully explained in the notes. °

As I apprehend enough will appear, in the foregoing observations, to point out the comprehensive utility of the Arabic and Persian languages in every discussion of high antiquity: and as this preliminary dissertation is merely designed to touch generally upon such topics as may have a tendency to throw light upon the subject at large; the bounds and intention of this sketch will not permit me to enter into a more minute investigation of Mr. Bryant's very learned and valuable work. Some slight observations on other particles will be found in the notes; and with them I shall, for the present, close my philological

remarks. I wish, however, it may not be understood, that I place any uncommon weight on the definitions which I have anywhere offered; by supposing them to be the positive origin of the proper names to which they are applied. My chief purpose has been simply to show, that the significations brought from the Arabic and Persian languages are expressive; and may easily, without violence, justify a possibility of their having been so employed. But I am too sensible of the uncertainty which must always accompany every similar conjecture, to consider them on higher ground than points of mere curiosity, and incentives to deeper investigation. How many obscure circumstances, known only to the founders, have concurred in giving names to places? How difficult is it to determine, whether they were denominated from Chiefs, from Events, or from Peculiar Qualities of Situation? and how many have derived names from more Ancient Structures, to which they bore a resemblance merely in some subordinate circumstance; that left not a ray to trace the great original meaning? Innumerable examples might be brought: but I shall confine myself to one obvious instance. The *Pantheon of Rome* was dedicated *To all the Gods*; and its Grecian name was perfectly descriptive of

the design. Its architecture was pleasing ; future artists admired it ; and domes arose in distant countries consecrated to any thing but gods. What a noble field of critical investigation might not the *Pantheons* of the *Escorial* and of *London* furnish, therefore, to antiquaries, two thousand years hence ; could we suppose, for a moment, the *Pantheon of Agrippa* to be forgotten ; and the languages and history of Greece and Rome to be then as completely involved in darkness, as those of high antiquity are to the researches of modern times. ^P

UPON the whole, an able general will make admirable dispositions even on bad grounds. Mr. Bryant's arguments will ever command respect ; but the stations he has chosen must, in my humble opinion, baffle all his skill to defend. Without an acquaintance with those Eastern tongues, all analysis of Eastern names must be completely fanciful : for whilst numbers of words, which may be expressed perfectly alike in European characters, have roots and meanings totally different ; others, which, in the eye of a stranger to the dialects, may bear no resemblance, will claim the same radical origin, and possess little variation of sense. Widely differing, therefore, as those Eastern inflexions are from the genius of European

tongues, it must be evident, even to those who have never made them an object of study, that the same principles which might guide an enquirer through the etymologies of the one class, must, in general, palpably mislead his researches in the other. It will hardly be considered, at the same time, as a substantial ground of defence, for this ingenious gentleman, to advance arguments, similar to those he has already used in respect to the Hebrew: “I do not, says he, deduce them (i. e. etymologies) from the Hebrew. And though there may have been, of old, a great similitude between that language and those of Egypt, Cutha, and Canaan: yet they were all different tongues. There was once but one language among the sons of men.”—Let it be admitted, that there was one great original language, whence the Hebrew, the Arabic, and all the lost and living dialects of antiquity were descended; is it not rational to conclude, that a considerable part of those tongues, which still exist, did actually pre-exist in that aboriginal language: and that the variety of lost idioms, which, in early times, prevailed in Lower Asia and Egypt, were either the immediate derivatives from that language, or dialects of its most diffusive branches?

THOSE tongues in particular which Mr. Bryant mentions, if they ever did live, have certainly long since expired : where then shall we search for a discovery of their characteristic traces ? where but in the Hebrew, in the Arabic, in the Syriac, in the Persic ; which were unquestionably spoken in the same or in the surrounding countries ; and either gave them birth, were derived from them, or claimed one common source. Can any stronger presumption be furnished of the truth or probability of this position, with regard especially to the Arabic and the Persian, than the unconstrained meanings which have been brought from those languages for almost every radical particle, chosen by this learned gentleman as the basis of his system ? Could this be the effect of chance ? Is it not a striking proof of their antiquity and utility ? And do not such etymons carry far more forcible conviction to our understanding, than dark and unsatisfactory derivation from unknown tongues ? A system of evidence, which proves either too much or nothing at all : for if one writer is allowed to roam through the regions of fancy, and fix arbitrary interpretations to a favourite class of words, another and another have an equal right : and every ingenious critic may then, like Archimedes of old, require only

some transmundane station on which to rear his engines; in order to shake to pieces the reason of man, as that famous Syracusan boasted he could have done our globe; had another world been found on which to fix his great mechanic powers. †

C H A P. III.

S E C T. I.

Observations on Eastern manners. Conjectures on channels through which Eastern customs may have flowed into Europe. Improbability of the expedition of Oden from the Euxine to Scandinavia. Tartary the great officina gentium of the barbarous invaders of the Roman empire. Mistakes of our greatest writers with regard to the Tartars. An example brought from Montesquieu.

TO touch slightly on the extensive subject of Eastern manners; and to trace, in a few instances, their probable influence on those of modern Europe, will now be the subject of a short enquiry. I am sensible that we may refine too much, by deriving every resemblance of customs in one country from the apparent counter part in another. In different quarters of the world, a similarity of

habit has been discovered amongst people, in other respects wholly dissimilar : and mankind, in parallel situations, will often think alike, without the least communication of sentiment. We may not, at the same time, reason always justly, in looking only to the era of great events for the influx of novel customs. We are stunned by the rolling of a torrent, whilst the humbler stream glides unnoticed by ; and many circumstances may have been placed to the account of revolution and conquest, which possibly originated from simpler causes, and flowed in by less perceptible channels. How far the following theory may be found just, will depend therefore upon its probable co-incidence with the history and habits of mankind : in such remote enquiries we can hardly hope for more. *

ROMANTIC Fiction has long been considered as of Eastern origin ; and many systems have been framed to fix the period of its introduction into Europe. The *Saracen Conquest of Spain*, and the *Cruzades*, have been chiefly built upon ; and the hypothesis of *Oden's flight from the Euxine to Scandinavia*, has of late been adopted by an intelligent and pleasing writer, to account for its early prevalence amongst our Gothic ancestors. It is certainly evident, that not only Romance, but many

customs and modes of thinking, apparently Asiatic, were found amongst those fierce invaders, before their irruption into the Roman empire : yet, as there is no probability in the tale of Oden, I shall, after assigning a few reasons for refusing my assent to this wonderful expedition, hazard some conjectures on the channels, through which those characteristic Eastern manners may have flowed into our Western regions. ^b

MANY learned Northern Antiquaries, from traditions in old Runic poems, and other suspicious materials, have framed a historical system with regard to their great hero Oden ; which, though evidently intended to heighten the character of that famous Scandinavian lawgiver, seems indeed the most severe of satires. Oden, they say, was the chief of a Sarmatian tribe, inhabiting the banks of the *Lake Meotis* ; or, according to others, the country between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, now called *Gurjestan* or *Georgia* ; who, terrified at the progress of the Roman arms, after the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey, abandoned his country, at the head of a vast body of his people, and settled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other Scandinavian districts : where he laid the foundations of that power, which, in after-ages, overwhelm-

ed the Roman empire. But if the *Palus Meotis* is fixed as the dominions of Oden, even the din of war could hardly have reached his ear : whilst the impresson made upon the countries between the seas was too slight to have alarmed the most effeminate of nations. Pompey was but a short time at Colchis : Mithridates had fled before his arrival. The conquest of that country was not his object : he had more important views. He left it almost immediately ; and marched against Tigranes into Armenia. The Iberians and Albanians, the old inhabitants of Georgia, instead of flying, laid many ambuscades to harrafs him. On the defeat of Tigranes, he returned to chastise those people for daring to insult the Roman arms. They again opposed him ; but afterwards sued for peace ; which he granted, without any severity of condition. Pompey proceeded immediately against the Syrians and Medes ; and we hear of him no more in those parts. The Romans, unlike the barbarian invaders of their empire, who marked their route with desolation, though ambitious, were by no means a cruel enemy. A nominal obedience to the senate was often all they required, from those districts in particular which skirted their dominions : and protection was ever the reward of submission.

Whence then could originate a terror so dreadful, as to frighten a people, not completely pusillanimous, from a country hardly attacked; capable of great natural defence; intersected in various directions by rugged mountains and extensive forests; and hurry them from the mild latitude of 42, to the degree of 57 north: a region to them unknown; barren, bleak, and of a severity of climate, which, even now, with all the advantage of cultivation, must chill to inaction the constitution of a Southern Asiatic? Would it not have been flying, at the same time, from the mere echo of war, to encounter difficulties almost unfurmountable? To have pierced to the frozen latitude of Scandinavia, over mountains, and rivers, and seas; through woods, and marshes, and hardy savages; implies a degree of persevering intrepidity, widely differing from that abject timidity which first induced them to fly. There is a striking difference, let it be remembered, between emigration and flight; between the enthusiasm and animation which must possess a body of adventurers departing in quest of plunder and new discoveries, and the trembling fugitives from imaginary alarms. A fearlessness of danger will distinguish the first; a wretched despondency will mark the other. Yet in

this tale, those opposite characters must have been found in the same people; and Oden and his tribe, from despicable cowards, must suddenly have been transformed to paragons of heroism. But Nature rejects the idea; and History should reject it too. We err when we take it from the province of Romance. We ought to consider it in the light of a mere Scaldic fable, invented to trace the origin of *Gothic* and *Roman* enmity; as the far more probable fiction of *Dido* and *Æneas* was supposed to account for the irreconcilable antipathy between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The epoch of the expedition seems, at the same time, to bring Oden too far down. He is celebrated as a deity in Runic Odes of very ancient date. The Gods of every barbarous country are generally carried up to the highest periods of society. The era of this personage, whether real or imaginary, must apparently be of more remote antiquity. A mere modern would hardly have been the object of such early and enthusiastic worship.

THE great *officina gentium*, whence such myriads of barbarians have at different periods poured into the more cultivated regions of the earth, appears, with every probability, to have been *Tartary*: tho' our greatest writers, following Jornandez, the Gothic abridger of

Cassiodorus, have looked only to Scandinavia, and the Northern parts of Germany, for those bodies of fierce warriors, who, in the early ages of Christianity, overturned the government, and changed the manners of Europe. The *Tartars*, *Scythians*, or *Turanians* (under which general names the historians of different nations have comprehended the inhabitants of that immense tract, stretching from 53° to 130° East longit. and from about 39° to 80° North lat.) have from the oldest times been remarked for a roving, irregular, martial life. People, whose riches centered in cattle, who wandered for pasture from district to district, could in consequence have no attachment to a spot. That *amor patriæ*, so conspicuous in the Hottentot, in the Laplander, and in the wild inhabitant of every barren rock, has never been discovered in men of this description. Attached to his tribe, and glorying in an extensive line of ancestors, the *natale solum* is to the Tartar an object of the most perfect indifference; and to abandon it, in the company of his friends, a circumstance rather of choice than regret. These great outlines have accordingly marked the operations of this extraordinary people from the most ancient times. Without those restraints on matrimony, which are found in

more civilized communities, their numbers had naturally a prodigious increase; and as they despised the idea of cultivating the ground, the same extent of country which could have maintained thousands of husbandmen, was found often insufficient for hundreds of roaming pastors. Emigrations alone could remedy this inconvenience. A celebrated warrior had only to proclaim, therefore, his intention of invading some neighbouring state or more distant country. He was immediately joined by the chiefs of many hords. Chance, oftner than design, might shape their course; to the South, to the North, to the East, to the West: for every quarter of the globe has at different times been the theatre of Tartar establishment or plunder. The ancient annals of the Persians are entirely employed in commemorating their numerous wars with the Turanians beyond the Gihon. China and Hindostan have often felt their fury. Whilst Jengiz Khan and Tamerlane, at the head of their bold and hardy subjects, approached nearer to universal monarchy than any conquerors of ancient or modern times. ^d

THAT the West must have been the object of Tartar invasion, as well as the East and South, there can be little ground to question. These people possess, as we may observe, the

whole interior almost of the Asiatic and European continent. In a constant state of action and re-action, history informs us, that they have burst repeatedly upon every adjacent country. Like subterraneous vapours, when rarified beyond a certain degree, they have at times acquired a great expansive force ; and the violence of the explosion in one part, would be generally in the ratio of the resistance in others. In the vigour of the Roman and Persian powers, they were often repulsed from their frontiers ; but they would not always return. Without success, without plunder, that would have been an indelible disgrace. They might then have struck to the West or to the North, where, finding countries more thinly peopled ; and the few inhabitants not only strangers to the art of war, but unprotected by fortified towns ; the opposition they might encounter, would in general be insufficient to check their progress. Meeting with no rich spoils in those countries, which could give a splendor to their expedition amongst their countrymen, they would often be induced rather to settle in their conquests than to go back : and as there would be sufficient territory for the invaders and the invaded, enmity would soon give way to intermarriages and social intercourse. The old

inhabitants would adopt by degrees some of the manners and beliefs of the Eastern strangers : and these, in return, falling in with habits and ideas peculiar to the aboriginal people ; a few generations would naturally incorporate them ; and form in time those various nations known by the names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Lombards*, or *Franks* ; whose roaming, rapacious, *Tartar* genius, became afterwards conspicuous, in the destruction of the Roman empire. No solid objection, it may be here observed, against those ancient Tartar invasions, can be built upon the silence of history ; as this silence is the natural consequence of the unlettered manners both of the conquerors and the vanquished : and whilst the shocks were too remote to be felt in the more civilized states of Europe, we cannot hope to find them in *their* annals. Tartary, China, or Tonqueen, may possibly, even in the present times, be the theatre of mighty revolutions unknown in Europe : and it is a most undoubted fact, that Jengiz Khan, who subdued almost every country in the world to the eastward of the Euphrates, was dead many years before the accidental curiosity of Marco Paolo, who visited the court of his grandson Coblai Khan in the year 1260, made Europe acquainted either with him or his dominions. :

FROM the researches and opinions of many Northern antiquaries, the *Scandinavian Goths* are discovered to have been early composed of two distinct bodies of people: the first Aborigines; the other Strangers; who are said to have possessed a degree of refinement, civilization, and science, far superior to the older inhabitants. Frequent allusions are made to their Asiatic origin. Their dress, their manners, their language, being in general distinguished by some epithet descriptive of superior elegance. It may possibly be objected, that *Refinement* and a *Tartar* are ideas extremely repugnant: yet every thing of this kind is merely comparative; and the more savage inhabitant of the North, who never till then knew a luxury of dress higher than the skin of an animal which he had killed, may easily be supposed to have admired whatever was, even in a small degree, superior to his own. But, in fact, the dress and equipage of the Tartar chiefs have been, in general, uncommonly splendid; and few circumstances seem to have been less attended to, by some of our greatest writers, than a proper distinction between the ruder and the more polished people who fill the immense extent of Tartary. Men totally dissimilar are grouped together, under one indiscriminate character, merely because

they are known in Europe by one general name : whilst, among their numerous nations, a difference of character may prevail, not inferior perhaps to that which marks an *Englishman* from a *Frenchman*, a *Hollander* from a *Portuguese*.^f

NOTHING in nature can be more opposite than the *civilized Arabian* of *Mecca* to the *ferocious plunderer of the desert* ; and the *citizen of Samarcand* has few features in common with the *Tartar wanderer in the Northern wilds* : yet even the great Montesquieu compares those people without distinction ; and draws conclusions which are by no means supported by their manners, their government, or the geography of their countries. In some parts of Tartary there are large and flourishing cities, fertile plains, and noble rivers : in others, deserts, mountains, marshes, and forests ; yet, amongst other positions, he says, “ They have no towns ; they have no forests, “ and but few marshes : their rivers are almost always frozen, and they dwell in an “ immense plain.” These are positive assertions ; and they are all equally groundless as positive : but Montesquieu is here endeavouring to support a system ; and system is dangerous even to the soundest reasoner. Can a region, containing above twenty millions of

square miles, watered by such rivers as the *Gihon*, the *Sihon*, the *Selenge*, and the *Aumur*; boasting such cities as *Samarcand*, *Bokhara*, *Cashgar*, and *Caracorum*; clustered with forests; broken into mountains; inhabited by many different nations; distinguished by every variety of soil, superficies, and climate, be called, with propriety, *one immense plain*; or correspond, in the most remote degree, with Montesquieu's description? The conclusions drawn too are as vague as the premises are unsubstantial. The *wild Arabs* are a race of roaming thieves; the *wild Tartars*, in this professional line, bear a pointed resemblance of character. Between these, to support an hypothesis, he wishes to find a political contrast. The *Arabs are free*; and he derives their freedom from their *Rocks*: the *Tartars* he chuses to *make slaves*, and he gives them *an immense plain*. Yet if there is a being on earth, who enjoys every species of irregular liberty, it is the *wandering Tartar*. He is obedient to his chief in every circumstance of war: but there submission ends. ⁸

EVERY observation, indeed, on the habits of those roving, daring people, strikingly displays their love of liberty, and their similitude of character, with the *old Gothic nations*. Their aversion to the culture of the ground;

their pastoral life ; their idleness ; their eagerness for plunder, and martial excursion ; with many customs and beliefs, clearly Eastern ; form altogether a chain of internal proofs, stronger perhaps than direct historical assertion. By many Northern writers, they are actually distinguished from the more ancient inhabitants of *Scandinavia*, by the epithet of *Oriental*s : and nothing can surely approach nearer in resemblance than the original northern invaders of the Roman states, and those inundations, *immediately from Tartary*, who, under the names of *Alans* and *Huns*, led by the famous *Attila* and other bold chiefs, overwhelmed the empire, towards the close of the fourth century, and gave a final blow to the chains of Roman servitude. ^h

SHOULD the foregoing observations, with others which will naturally arise in the further discussion of the subject, furnish arguments of sufficient force to support the above hypothesis, we shall easily account for one great channel, thro' which many circumstances, originally Eastern, penetrated into the Hyperborean regions : where, with such shades of variation, as might naturally be expected from a difference of climate and temperament, they sowed the seeds of that stile of manners, which finds nothing similar to it in the characteristics of Greece and Rome. !

S E C T. II.

Prevalence of the Feudal System in the East in early times. Traces of it in Persia; in Arabia; in Hindostan; in Turkey; in Tartary. Apparently introduced into Germany and Scandinavia, by the Tartars, before the irruption of the Goths into the Roman states.

THE Feudal System, which was introduced and diffused over Europe by the conquerors of the Roman power, produced, in a civil light, an alteration in laws, government, and habits, no less important than the dismemberment of the empire by their arms. Our greatest lawyers, historians, and antiquaries, whose object has been less to trace its origin than to mark its influence, have uniformly attributed this great foundation of the jurisprudence of modern Europe to the military policy of the Northern nations; and seem in general rather to have considered it as a consequence of their situation, after their conquests; than as existing previous to their ir-

ruptions. It appears not only to have formed, however, their great system of polity before the grand invasion, but to have flourished in the East with much vigour in very early times. ^a

IN Persia, Tartary, India, and other Eastern countries, the whole detail of government, from the most ancient accounts down to the present hour, can hardly be defined by any other description. We observe, in general, one Great King, to whom a number of subordinate princes pay homage and tribute: all deviation from this system seeming merely temporary and accidental. Possessed of every essential power of royalty, the degree of dependence of these secondary kings, we find, has ever been proportioned to the vigour or imbecillity of the paramount sovereign: for where no solid code of constitutional laws prevails, the brilliant or disgraceful periods in the history of a people will generally depend upon the genius of one man. A great monarch will give to the component parts the appearance of one despotic whole; whilst the approaches to disobedience will ever be proportioned to the weakness of administration. Constantly recurring, however, to first principles, every variation of Oriental Rule presents only, to our alternate view, an overgrown

empire, feebly governed, crumbling into independent kingdoms; and independent kingdoms again uniting, to form the empire of some more fortunate and enterprizing sovereign. ^b

A GENERAL view of the histories of Eastern nations would, perhaps, sufficiently support the above positions; but I shall venture to offer a few particular authorities. The more ancient facts, it may be observed, like every remote event, will not admit of positive proof; but in tracing manners or modes of government, absolute historical or chronological precision is by no means requisite. The actions of one prince may be imputed to another; anachronisms and misnomers may abound; and the atchievements of twenty warriors may swell the renown of one hero: but no writer will attribute to his nation Customs and Ideas of Government, to which they or their ancestors were strangers; and against which the opinions of his fellow subjects must instantly and loudly revolt. When uncommon and great innovations happen, in the customs of a country, writers are careful to trace their origin, to fix their introduction, and to observe their influence. But when circumstances, however interesting, are simply mentioned, without particular observation or commentary, we may rationally conclude, that

such customs are of high antiquity ; and no more deserving of special animadversion than the general complexion, configuration, or temperament of their countrymen. The rise and progress of the Feudal System in Europe is marked : it was an exotic plant ; and it has, of consequence, engaged the attention of our ablest antiquaries. But in the East it is indigenous, universal, and immemorial : and the Eastern historians have never dreamt of investigating its source, any more than the origin of regal government. Both have long been to them equally familiar ; and the first extensive monarchy gave probably a beginning to the first dependence of feudal chiefs. It may be thought too, that examples of this, or any other custom, brought from events, subsequent to their introduction into Europe, can be no corroborative proof of their subsisting in the East, previous to their appearance in the West. But the least attention to Oriental Manners will clearly show, that the characteristic habits of those people, even at this hour, are, in every respect, similar to the most remote accounts : nor have we ground to believe, that (the Mohammedan religion and fire arms excepted) there is one single custom peculiar to the Persians, the Arabians, or the Tartars, of the present day, which did

not prevail amongst their ancestors at a period too remote for human research. With a wonderful predilection for their own ancient manners, they have a peculiar and invincible antipathy to those of Europe. They are so opposite to their genius, to their hereditary prejudices, and to every idea political and religious, that no instance can be produced, perhaps, of one single custom originally European having ever been adopted by the Asiatic nations: the Turks even, whose vicinity exposes them most to Western innovation, preserving still unchanged that remarkable distinction of character which they possessed before they crossed the Bosphorus of Thrace. On this ground, therefore, I give no anecdotes as unquestioned truths: they are mentioned by Asiatic historians; and I offer them simply as beliefs in original customs. We may not subscribe to the apparition of Cæsar's ghost before the battle of Philippi; but we may rest assured, that it would not have been recorded by Plutarch, had it not, in his time, been universally believed. °

ABOVE 800 years before the Christian era, an usurper called Zohak, we are informed, reigned in Persia. His government was oppressive, and became at length unsupportable. The citizens of Ispahan flew to arms; and,

headed by a Blacksmith named Gao, attacked, defeated, and killed the Tyrant. Gao, after this victory, discovering the retreat of Feridoun, the heir to the crown, placed him on the throne; and received, in return, Ispahan, with its dependencies, as a feudal principality. What truth may be in this remote event it is impossible to determine; but it is a generally recorded fact, that the Blacksmith's apron, said to have been displayed by Gao, when marching against Zohak, as a banner, from the point of a spear, was taken by the Arabians at the battle of Cadeffia, when they conquered Persia in the year 636. It had been laid up in the treasury of the Persian kings, and was enriched with jewels to a prodigious value. It was considered as the great standard and palladium of the empire; and was never carried to the field but on important emergencies, or when the king marched in person.—Rostam is a hero whose prowess is highly celebrated. He is equally the favourite of History and Romance. He was a successful general under the first kings of the Kaianian dynasty; and received, in reward for his services, the provinces of Sejestan and Zablestan, as feudal appannages of the crown of Persia: on the condition of marching a body of forces, as the exigencies of the state might

require; but particularly to repulse the inroads of the Tartars. — Babylonia, Syria, Assyria, and Media, as formerly observed, seem to have been merely feudatory kingdoms of the old Persian empire. — Alexander the Great divided the Eastern provinces of Persia amongst the princes to whose families they had originally belonged. On this occasion they received a banner from the hands of the conqueror, paid homage, and engaged to maintain a certain number of troops, upon a footing (says the author of the *Tarikh Montekheb*) somewhat resembling the military vassals of the Ottoman empire, called *Sanjacs* and *Timars*. These princes are called by the Mohammedan writers *Molouku'l' Tarwayif* (kings of the nations); and are by some considered as a particular dynasty, between the Kaianians and the Ashcanians, commonly called Arfacides by Europeans. They strictly performed, it is added, their feudal engagements to Alexander; but on his death, as the Grecian commanders seized upon the Western kingdoms, they also assumed an independency in their respective provinces. This account seems highly probable; as the successors of Alexander, according both to the Eastern and Western writers, soon lost all sovereignty to the eastward of the Tigris. *

THE Tobba, or king of Arabia Felix, was the acknowledged paramount sovereign in very old times of a number of tribes.—Most of the provinces of Arabia on the Persian gulph, with those stretching towards Babylonia, held of the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty ; who often appointed feudatory princes on the death or misconduct of their predecessors. — The Khalif Almamon gave Khorasan, which he himself held as a feudal sovereignty under his father Haron Arrashid, to his great general Thaher ; where he soon after became independent, and founded the dynasty of Thaherians. — Motamed, the fifteenth Khalif of the house of Abbas, gave, in the year 874, the great province of Mawarannahar, as a feudal government, to Nasser ben Ahmed ; which his brother and successor Ismael, eighteen years afterwards, erected into a monarchy, and founded the dynasty of the Samanides.—Similar grants were made or extorted from succeeding Khalifs ; so that partly by gift, partly by usurpation, the Khalifat, from the middle of the ninth century, till its dissolution in the year 1258, was in fact one immense feudatory empire : where every Sultan acknowledged the superiority of the Khalif ; but, like the great feudal chiefs in Europe, paid him just that degree of obedience which

each judged consistent with his own interest. —A similar system prevails to the present hour in Hindostan; through a regular gradation of *Subabs*, *Nabobs*, *Foujdars*, *Killadars*, and other subordinate chiefs; who all consider the *Great Mogul* as lord paramount of the empire.—In the Ottoman government there are many remarkable traces of the feudal system; especially in the Khan of the Crim Tartars, in the Wavyodes of Moldavia, Wallakhia, and other European districts; in Algiers and other Barbary States; in the Sherif of Mecca; in several Sheiks or princes of Syria; as well as in the military fiefs, which, under the titles of *Sanjacs*, *Zayms*, and *Timariots*, are bestowed with the express condition of supporting bodies of men, but especially of horse, ready to take the field at the order of the Sultan. °

IN *Tartary* we see it strong. Temujin, afterwards distinguished by the more celebrated name of Jengiz Khan, was the son of a chief, who had several feudatories; yet he himself held of Thogrul, the Khan of Caracum, better known by the name of *Prester John*. Thogrul, tho' a prince of great power, was still subject to the emperor of Katha, the paramount of Tartary; who accordingly, in the true feudal stile, summoned him with his *arrière vassals* to assist in quelling a dangerous

rebellion. Thogrul, attended by young Temujin, obeyed ; a decisive victory was gained over the insurgents ; in which both behaved with so much gallantry, that the emperor created Thogrul *Vang Khan*, which is a high royal title ; and gave Temujin a considerable command in his army. When Temujin, by his success and abilities, had risen to a great degree of power, about the year 1205 a grand council of the Tartar nations assembled. Nine of the chief Khans appeared at the rendezvous, each attended by his vassals. They displayed nine large banners of command. They placed Jengiz upon an eminence, with a piece of black felt-cloth under his feet. The speaker of the assembly addressed him : he recognized him as emperor in the name of the whole ; and told him, if merciful and just, that God would prosper his government ; if not, his person and memory would become black and despicable as the felt on which he stood. A prophet called *Cokza*, and surnamed *the Image of God*, declared, that he had received a revelation from heaven, ordering Temujin to take, from that time, the name of *Jengiz*, which signifies *The most Great*. The Khans then advanced and paid him homage, bending the knee nine times ; the nobles followed ; and then the body of the people,

making the same number of genuflections, proclaimed him emperor with loud acclamations. We find some variation of ceremony in the inauguration of Tamerlane in the year 1369. He mounted a magnificent throne: he wore a brilliant crown: he girded himself publicly with his sword: his feudatory princes acknowledged his sovereignty by a profusion of precious stones which they showered over his head; whilst a holy man put into his hands a drum, and a standard, as the insignia of imperial authority. ^f

EVERY thing in the histories of those princes is indeed completely feudal. Before their great expeditions, we find them issuing orders for the attendance of their great vassals, with their contingents of troops. And we also observe a constitutional Parliament or Meeting of Estates: who, amongst other privileges, claimed that of trying great offenders. Artok Buga, one of the grandsons of Jengiz Khan, having revolted against his brother the emperor Coblai Khan, was at length defeated: but Coblai did not punish him, till he had called an Assembly of the States; where he was tried and condemned to be shut up between four walls, made of the tragacanth tree, where he lived twelve months. A feudatory prince of Herat, called Pir Ali, being

suspected of a design to revolt soon after Tamerlane's inauguration, was cited to appear before the General Assembly : he evaded the summons till he had fortified his capital : upon which a decree was passed similar to the Ban of the Empire in Germany ; and Tamerlane being desired to reduce him to obedience, he was accordingly put to death in consequence of this sentence. It is needless to multiply examples : but it may not be improper to observe, that those General Meetings, called *Kouriltai*, bear so near a resemblance to the Diets of the Gothic nations, that a strong additional argument may thence be drawn to support the hypothesis of the early Tartar establishments in Germany and Scandinavia. Jengiz and Tamerlane, powerful and despotic as they were, held many of those Diets. The Great Khans, tho' generally chosen from the sons of the late sovereign, were elected by them ; and primogeniture was of little consequence. Jengiz Khan, for example, nominated his second surviving son Octay, as his successor : but though uncommon deference was paid to the will of a man whom the Tartars almost adored, the new emperor was not acknowledged, as such, till the meeting of the Great Assembly two years afterwards ; where, upon his expressing some reluctance to accept

of the imperial dignity, his elder and younger brothers, Jagathay and Tuli, taking him by the hands, installed him on the throne, and saluted him *Khan*. Olug Nuvin, the youngest of Jengiz Khan's sons, as master of the household, presented him with a cup of wine: and all the people making nine genuflections to their sovereign, and three to the sun, hailed him Emperor. *

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the situation of *Olug Nuvin* is a curious instance of a singular custom, long prevalent in Tartary, as well as among the Northern nations; and even to be found in our old Saxon tenures, under the description of *Borough English*: where the youngest son succeeds to his father in preference to his elder brothers. Sir William Blackstone, after mentioning the opinions of Littleton and other eminent lawyers, in regard to the origin of this strange custom, conjectures, with great judgment, that it might be deduced from the Tartars. Amongst those people, the elder sons, as they grew to man's estate, migrated from their father with a certain portion of cattle; and the youngest son only remaining at home, became in consequence the heir to his father's house, and all his remaining possessions. Jengiz Khan had, agreeably to this idea, given to

his four eldest sons great governments and great offices ; but Olug always attended his person. During the interval of forty days, therefore, from the meeting of the Great Tartar Assembly, till the installation of Octay Khan, this youngest brother seems to have been acknowledged by him and the other princes as Lord of the family : he was a kind of public administrator during this interregnum ; and presented the Great Khan with the cup on his enthronement, as the highest token of Eastern hospitality, which the master of a family can show to a guest. ^h

IN the above outlines, we can observe several strong traces of Gothic government. We can perceive the ruder draughts of States General, of Parliaments, of Juries ; and, in the circumstances of the Electors and the Elected, some striking features of that system, which still unites the great Germanic Body. We can see, in the bent of national genius, the strongest marks of wild freedom ; with a regular gradation of military vassals : and altho' in their own country, from a general attachment to pastoral life, Fiefs, or possessions in land, formed no part of Tartar jurisprudence or property ; yet when they settled in the West, a difference of situation would naturally suggest an alteration adapted to it. The more

steady temper of the native Scandinavians and Germans would modify the roaming Scythian spirit ; a superior attachment to a particular spot would naturally arise. As the country became more populous, ground would become more valuable ; and what was formerly in common, to avoid disputes, would then be portioned off. A wish to defend this property from new inroads might soon produce a more permanent and solid system of subordination. And the more irregular ideas of the Tartars, improved by territorial possession, pave thus, by degrees, the way for that more refined system, so peculiarly adapted to the situation of settling invaders ; which, in the fifth and following centuries, almost universally took place in Europe. ¹

S E C T. III.

Eastern notions of Supernatural Beings. Idea of the Peri or Faery System. The doctrine of enchantments originally Persian. Belief in Guardian Angels. Influence of this belief on their government and private life. Talismans, amulets, fascination.

NEXT to the Feudal System, and other maxims of civil government, which regulated the property and politics of the middle ages, few speculative subjects are more worthy of our attention than those novel ideas of Supernatural Beings, which ruled their minds with most resistless force. The universal belief in various orders of superhuman creatures, has prevailed in many parts of Asia long before the era of authentic history : and such complete possession have they taken of Eastern imagination, that the most serious, as well as the most fanciful compositions are filled with perpetual allusions to those imaginary beings. To understand Homer, we must have a previous knowledge of the dignities and attributes

of the Grecian Deities : to comprehend the writers of the East, we should have an acquaintance with the mythology and popular beliefs of Eastern nations. For this purpose, I have thrown into the Dictionary slight sketches of what seemed most peculiarly Asiatic ; and shall here bring those remarks under one point of view ; with such additional observations as could not, with propriety, find any alphabetical place ; or which may appear necessary to illustrate and connect the whole. *

THE fabulous Asiatic ages stretch far beyond the creation of man. They suppose the world to have been repeatedly peopled by creatures of different formation, who were successively annihilated or banished for disobedience to the Supreme Being. An Eastern Romance introduces the hero Caherman in conversation with the monstrous bird or griffon *Simurgh* ; who tells him, that she had already lived to see the earth seven times filled with creatures, and seven times a perfect void : that the age of Adam would be seven thousand years ; when the race of man would be extinguished, and their place supplied by beings of another form and more perfect nature ; with whom the earth would end : that she had then seen twelve periods, each of seven thousand years ; but was denied the know-

ledge of the duration of her own existence. Those beings, who inhabited the globe immediately before the creation of man, they call *Peris* and *Dives*; and they form a perfect contrast. The *Peris* are described as beautiful and benevolent; and though guilty of errors which had offended Omnipotence, they are supposed, in consequence of their penitence, still to enjoy distinguished marks of divine favour. The *Dives*, on the contrary, are pictured as hideous in form, and malignant in mind; differing only from the infernal demons in not being confined to hell; but roaming for ever around the world to scatter discord and wretchedness among the sons of Adam. In the *Peris* we find a wonderful resemblance to the *Faeries* of the European nations: and the *Dives* or *Genies* differ little from the *Giants* and *Savages* of the middle ages: the adventures of the Eastern heroes breathe all the wildness of atchievement recorded of the knights in Gothic romance; and the doctrine of enchantments, in both, seems to claim one common source. The various creatures who preceded Adam, were supposed to have been governed by a succession of seventy-two *Solimans*: the last of whom is surnamed *Jan ben Jan*. This monarch had offended Omnipotence; and the angel Hares was sent from

heaven to chastise him. A war ensued, which terminated in the defeat of the pre-adamite king; and Hares governed in his room. But this angel becoming intoxicated with power, Adam was created; and all the earth ordered to obey him. Hares, composed of the element of fire, scorned submission to a clay-formed creature. He rebelled against the Divine will; and was joined in his revolt by the Dives: but the Peris, acquiescing in the mandates of heaven, became from that time the friends of mankind. Hares, with his chief followers, were cursed by God, and doomed to a long period of torment in the infernal regions: but the other Dives were allowed to range over the earth, as a security for the future obedience of man. The residence of those ideal beings was imagined to be on the mountain of Kaf; which, in the East, was long supposed to surround the earth, as a ring does the finger: the globe being fancied to rest on one great emerald or sapphire; the reflection from which gave the azure appearance to the sky: whilst its movements were productive of volcanoes, earthquakes, and all the convulsive phenomena of nature. The whole of this visionary country is called *Jinnistan*; and the respective empires are di-

vided into many kingdoms and cities. Those of the Peris bear the names of *Shadukam* (pleasure and desire), *Gouherabad* (the city of jewels), *Amberabad* (the city of Ambergris): the metropolis of the Dives being called *Abermanabad* (the city of the Principle of Evil); where the enchanted castle, palace, and gallery of the Dive king Arzhenk is the subject of much fable. The Peris and Dives are supposed to be formed of the element of fire: they live long, but are subject to death; and though possessed of superhuman powers, have in many respects the sentiments and passions of mankind. They wage incessant war; and when the Dives make prisoners of the Peris, they shut them up in iron cages, and hang them on the highest trees; to expose them to public view, and to every chilling blast. Here they are visited by their companions, who bring them the choicest odours. Perfume is the only food of the Peris; and whilst it serves as nourishment to the captives, it has also the virtue of keeping at a distance the insulting Dives; whose malignancy of nature can endure nothing fragrant.^b

WHEN the Peris are in danger of being overpowered by their foes, they always solicit the assistance of some mortal hero; which furnishes a wonderful fund of fanciful machinery

for Eastern Poetry and Romance. To put the Knight on a footing of prowess with those gigantic Dives, he is generally armed with enchanted talismans ; and mounted on some tremendous monster. One of the most famous adventurers in Faery-land is Tahmuras, an ancient Persian king. The Peris honour him with a splendid embassy ; and the Dives, who dread him, send also another. He consults the Griffon Simurgh : she speaks all languages and knows future events. She counsels him to aid the Peris ; informs him of the dangers he will encounter ; and gives him instructions how to proceed. She offers her assistance to conduct him to Jinnistan ; and, as a token of friendship, pulls some feathers from her breast, with which he ornaments his helmet. He then mounts the Simurgh ; and, armed with the buckler of Jan ben Jan, crosses the dark abyfs, which mortals cannot pass without supernatural assistance. He arrives at Kaf : he defeats Arzshenk ; and also another Dive, still more fierce, called Demrush ; whose residence is described as a gloomy cavern, where he is surrounded with vast piles of wealth, amassed by plunder. Here Tahmuras, amongst other rich spoils, finds a fair captive, the Peri Merjan ; whom the Dive had carried off, and her brothers had long

searched for in vain. He chains the vanquished demons in the center of the mountain; sets Merjan at liberty; and then, in the true spirit of Knight-errantry, flies, at the Peri's request, to the attack of another powerful Dive, called Houdkonz; but here Tahmuras falls.—In the *Shah namé*, the celebrated Rostam, many ages afterwards, engages the Dive Arzhenk, who had escaped from the chains of Tahmuras; and kills him, after a fierce battle. Arzhenk is there painted with a body somewhat human, and the head of a bull, which Rostam strikes off at a blow.—The Dive Munheras is wounded with an arrow in the mouth by Gershab, the last king of the Pishdadian dynasty; and he is afterwards put to death by Sohrab the son of Rostam. In the first encounter he has the head of a hog; but in the next he is pictured as a biferous; one side resembling the head of a lion, the other that of a wild boar. Rostam, who is considered as the Hercules of Persia, among many other Dives, dragons, and enchanters, whom he destroys, kills a demon called the Dive Sepid; and Father Angelo mentions having seen a stupendous monument in the midst of a plain, near the city of Fehelion, between Shuster and Shiraz, supposed to be commemorative of this combat; which was cut into

a quadrangular fortification, with such regularity, that it had the appearance of being formed of one entire stone.

THIS Dissertation would swell, however, to a disproportioned bulk, were I to enter into a detail of the various wonderful adventures with which the Eastern Poems and Romances abound. I give these few outlines, merely to show the general prevalence of Romantic Ideas in Asia: but especially in *Persia*, the great classic ground of Eastern Fiction; and the centre whence it seems to have spread to almost every surrounding and distant country. So singular indeed is the resemblance, in numberless instances, between the wild imagery of this stile of fabling, with that which prevailed in after-times in *Europe*, that we must either suppose, in the writers, a wonderful coincidence of luxuriant imagination, or conclude, that the West must have borrowed from the East. I shall not insist upon *Turpin's Twelve Peers*, upon the Armorican, Spanish, and other European Romances; where the similarity of features is irregularly striking: but even in the nobler works of *Ariosto*, *Tasso*, and *Spencer*, we can discover the counter part of all their fanciful machinery in the fictions of *Persia*. The *Ipogriffo*, on which *Astolfo* flies to heaven; and the *magic ring* of *Bra-*

damanté in *Orlando Furioso*: the many-headed monster of *Duessá*; and the shield of Prince *Arthur* in the *Faery Queen*: with the various enchantments of *Armida* and *Ismeno* in *Gierusalemme Liberata*; may all be traced to Oriental origin: whilst the *Peri Merjan* has much the air of being the *Faery Morgain*, who conveyed away our King *Arthur*, after the battle of *Camelon*; and with whom, according to the old British Romances, he now resides in Faery land with great happiness and splendor. ^d

SOME ingenious writers have considered this species of fiction as originating among the Arabians: but there are many reasons for believing, that it was absolutely unknown to them before the era of the *Hejra*; and that they did not adopt that mode of writing till long after the Persian conquest. *Mohammed*, as before observed, was uncommonly alarmed at the first romantic glimmerings, which were brought from Persia by the merchant *Nasser*. He was afraid lest the minds of his countrymen should be more strongly impressed with those wildly pleasing tales, than with the doctrines of the *Alcoran*: and he accordingly reprobated those foreign figments, as abhorred by God and the Prophet. The warriors, who figure in Faery-land, are all

ancient Persian kings and heroes. The Arabians have not even a word in their language expressive of the greatest beauty of Eastern Romance, the *Peri*: and altho' *Fin* is now used synonymously with *Dive*; yet its proper and original meaning was merely an Infernal Fiend; a Being very distinct from the Romantic inhabitant of Kaf. The same observation will hold, with regard to the most uncommon monsters; who seem all to be natives of Persian fancy: the words used by the Arabians, to express the Persian *Simurgh*, *Ouranabad*, or *Rakshé*; as well as their dragons and other machinery of Romance, having in general simple radical significations, expressive of creatures, which really exist; and seem only to have been figuratively applied, to those imaginary monsters, in later times. A large serpent, for example, is transformed into a dragon: an eagle, or a long-neck'd animal, represents the *Simurgh*: a dangerous or inhuman villain is turned into a Giant, a Demon, or any terrifying appearance: and a word, expressive of a Dreadful Calamity, or Sudden Horror, which deprives people of their senses, is metaphorically converted into a species of monster supposed to haunt woods, church-yards, and other lonely places; and not only to tear the living to pieces, but to

dig up and devour the bodies of the dead. As the language then of every people will always be observed to abound in radical words, expressive of every kind of imagery which has been long familiar to them; we must conclude, upon the best grounds, where such words are not to be found; and metaphorical, or exotic expressions, appear to be the only substitutes; that the ideas, described by those words, are not indigenous, but adopted from foreign nations: and as the Arabians have no terms, in their tongue, radically expressive of any thing superhuman, excepting Angels and Devils; Romance, whose characteristic genius rolls entirely on a peculiar and distinct species of machinery, could not apparently have originated in Arabia. *

EXCLUSIVE of the universal belief in the fanciful *Peri System*, which may be called the *Mythology of Romance*, the ancient Persians appear in general to have acknowledged one Supreme Being; and to have paid a high degree of respect to Angels, as subordinate deities. This, with a veneration for the stars, was the great doctrine of the Sabian religion, which prevailed of old in Persia, Arabia, and other Eastern countries. As these Angels are not only frequently alluded to in Eastern authors, but throw considerable light on the

detail of private life, a few observations upon them may not be unuseful. ^f

WHEN Ormuzd, or Omnipotence, created mankind, the Persians suppose that he gave, at the same time, the superintendency of the world, and of every thing animate or inanimate, to certain Guardian Angels. Though man was the peculiar charge of the Supreme Being, yet all his actions, and every accident to which he was liable, were still imagined to be, in a great measure, dependent on the influence of the presiding Angel. Every circumstance of public or family concern had, in consequence, their favourite times : established ceremonies were observed with anxious attention ; and various public festivals were appointed, to conciliate the benevolence of those ministers of heaven. ^g

To procure the favour, or command the service, of Beings, who are supposed to be the cause of the felicity or misery of man, was a natural wish ; and some there were who pretended to possess this power. Hence the origin of charms, of talismans, and of all the armour offensive and defensive of enchantment. In the rudest times, there will be ever found men, who are better versed in the arcana of nature than the uninformed multitude. A love of ease, and an aversion from pain, are the

great laws of nature, and the mind is perpetually fluctuating between a wish for the one, and a dread of the other. To pretend boldly therefore to a power of bestowing happiness, or removing misery, hardly ever failed, in the days of ignorance, to gain a man believers: and he seldom found difficulty in interesting the passions of the people, provided he could by any means impose upon their senses. An attention to the principles of mechanism, to the operations of chymistry, to the virtues of plants, and to the various laws of nature, might produce discoveries incomprehensible by simple men: and a few remarkable instances of the efficacy of mere natural causes, would easily gain the possessors of those secrets the reputation of inflicting torment or of commanding pleasure at a wish. To enjoy the reputation and advantages of those fancied supernatural powers, was not enough. Some pretended to have the art of communicating them to others: necromancy became of course a regular study; and the people at large, who could not aim at such occult sciences, were happy to supply their want of knowledge, by the purchase of talismans, amulets, or charms, in whose virtues they placed a perfect and most wonderful confidence. *

TALISMANS and Amulets have long engaged the attention of Eastern nations; and accurate rules have been laid down for their construction. The gem, the chrystal, the metal, or other substance, is ordered to be dug, or searched for, when some particular angel rules the day. It must be prepared or engraved under the influence of another; and the *zemzemé*, or prayer of a third must be pronounced over it, to give it that mysterious virtue for which it is esteemed. Different ceremonies are necessary in gathering the herbs, and flowers; in cropping the hairs of camels, sea-cows, or other animals of which the amulets are formed: and the suspending them round the necks of men, women, children, or animals, is performed with much precision and solemnity. Yet real knowledge might originally have given rise to what the views of the artful, and the superstition of the ignorant, afterwards perverted to the purposes of folly. An intelligent observer might discover, that certain plants had their juices in high perfection at particular seasons; that some should be gathered at sun-rise, when moist with dew; others at the meridian, when under the influence of the mid-day heat. He might imagine, that the external application of medicinal herbs, of mineral substances, of

tufts of hair or wool, whilst impregnated with the effluvia or perspiration of the animal, might have a salutary effect in various ailments; and experience would confirm the justness of his conjecture. But the million, ever unable or unwilling to investigate natural causes (especially when impressed with a conviction, that every distemper, and every misfortune, proceeded from the operations of malevolent spirits, or the fascination of malignant eyes), would impute the cures which such applications performed, not to the essential qualities of their compounds, but to supernatural agency, and unessential ceremony. They applied them, in consequence, without distinction, not only to the old and to the young, to the sick and to the healthy, to the brute creation as well as to rational beings; but placed even things inanimate under their protection. An afs's head, cabalistically prepared, and erected on a pole in a garden or field, was supposed to be an effectual defence against fascination, and a consequent scarcity of produce: whilst a talisman, buried along with hidden treasure, was imagined to put it in perfect safety, by rendering it invisible to every eye but those of the owner. Nothing indeed is more common in the East than the burying of treasure: and it took its rise from

that unsteady system of government, which has in general prevailed on those countries. Ever apprehensive of revolution and ruin, a rich man generally divides his estate into three parts: one he employs in trade, or the necessary purposes of life; another he invests in jewels, which he may easily carry off, if forced to fly; and the third he buries. As he intrusts nobody with the secret of this deposit, which he guards with his talisman, if he dies before he returns to the spot, it is then lost to the world; till accident throws it in the way, perhaps, of some fortunate peasant, when turning up his ground. Those discoveries of hidden treasure, and sudden transitions from poverty to riches, of which we read in Oriental tales, are by no means therefore quite ideal; but a natural consequence of the manners of the people. †

S E C T. IV.

Observations upon the old Persian era. Every month, every day, and every action of man supposed to have been under the superintendence of particular angels. Short account of the festivals celebrated by the Persians in honour of those angels. The Asiatics in general strongly attached to omens, astrology, divination, and dreams.

TO understand the machinery of Angels, it will be proper to make some previous observations on the ancient Persian era, with which they are intimately connected. This was supposed to have been established by king Gemshid, one of the Pishdadian princes; the date of whose reign seems too uncertain even for conjecture: though some judicious writers place him about 800 years before Christ. On the day when the Sun entered Aries, he is said to have made his first public entry into Istakhar or Persepolis, which he had just finished; and to have ordered the era to com-

mence from that time, in honour of the Sun, and to commemorate the building of his capital city. He divided the year into twelve months, of thirty days each; to the last of which they afterwards added five supplementary days, to make up the whole 365. No attention was, for some time, paid to any intercalation similar to our Leap Year; till astronomers, observing, at length, that the Sun, at the beginning of the year, had made a retrograde motion from Aries to Pisces, inserted one month at the end of 120 years; which they celebrated with one continued festival. Yezdejird, the last king of the Sasanian dynasty, reformed the Kalendar: and his era is adopted at this hour in many parts of Persia; particularly by the Parsis of Kirman, and by those of Guzerat in Hindostan. But all do not agree in the epoch of commencement; some dating it from the beginning of Yezdejird's reign, A. D. 632; some from his defeat at Cadeffia in 636; and others from his death in 651. On the conquest of Persia by the Mohammedans the lunar computation was introduced; and it is still attended to in matters of religion: but about the year 1079, the Persian Kalendar was again reformed by the great Sultan Malekshah Jelaleddin; and continues now to be

adhered to in several parts of Persia. This prince, whilst he removed the Sun from Pisces to Aries, made also an alteration in the position of the months; under the idea of restoring the ancient mode fixed by Gemshid. From those changes, however, there has arisen a disagreement amongst the different writers, with regard to the seasons and days, when several festivals were celebrated; which, were it of consequence, it would be difficult to reconcile: it being probable that, in later times, different provinces solemnized them upon the days which corresponded with the respective eras they had adopted; and that some ceremonies were perhaps introduced by the Mohammedan princes, which were unknown in Ancient Persia. ^a

EVERY month was supposed to be under the guardianship of an angel, from whom it received its name. The subdivision by weeks was not known till later times; but every day had also a ruling angel of a subordinate degree; the superior angels having each a day, in their respective months, which was observed with more than ordinary attention. Their festivals were, in consequence, numerous; and many of them uncommonly splendid. I shall slightly touch upon such as seem most worthy of notice. The chief were those about

the Equinoxes; the next were those of Water at Midsummer, and of Fire at the Winter Solstice. The first was the *Nauruz*, which commenced with their year in *March*, and lasted six days; during which all ranks seem to have participated in one general joy. The rich sent presents to the poor: all were dressed in their holiday clothes; all kept open house; and religious processions, music, dancing, a species of theatrical exhibition, rustic sports, and other pastimes, presented a continued round of varied amusement. Even the dead, and the ideal things, were not forgotten; rich viands being placed on the tops of the houses and high towers, on the flavour of which the *Peris* and Spirits of their departed heroes and friends were supposed to feast. The *Parfis* of *Guzerat* still celebrate the last ten days of the year as a festival to departed Spirits. The first five days they suppose the souls of the blessed to hover three bow-shots above the earth; and during the five last they imagine, that not only they, but the damned also, visit their surviving friends: on which account, to give them the best reception, their houses are purified and decked out to the greatest advantage. During these ten days they never go from home. ^b

THE festival of *Mibrgan* lasted also six days : it began about the middle of *September* ; and was celebrated with some unessential difference of ceremony ; both being in honour of their great ostensible deity, the Sun. — In *June* they solemnized the *Abrixgan*, in honour of the element of Water : to which, as well as Fire, they paid a high degree of respect. It lasted only one day ; during which all degrees of people sprinkled one another with pure water, or with distillations from roses, orange flowers, and other odoriferous herbs. — In *December*, on the shortest night of the year, was the anniversary of the great Festival of Fire, called *Sheb sezé* ; when their temples were illuminated, and large piles of fire blazed all over the kingdom ; round which the people entertained themselves all night with choral dances, and various amusements peculiar to the season. Amongst other ceremonies common on this occasion, there was one, which, whether it originated in superstition or caprice, seems to have been singularly cruel and pernicious. The kings and the great men used to set fire to large bunches of dry combustibles, fastened round wild beasts and birds ; which being then let loose, the air and earth appeared one great illumination : and as those terrified creatures naturally fled

to the woods for shelter, it is easy to conceive that conflagrations, which would often happen, must have been peculiarly destructive, where a people considered the extinguishing of fire, by water, as one of the highest acts of impiety. °

THERE were many other festivals; some of which seem whimsical; whilst others had apparently an excellent political tendency. One of the most ludicrous appears to have been that which they celebrated about the Vernal Equinox, called *Koufa nishin*. This was an old beardless one-eyed figure, representing Winter on his departure, mounted on an ass or a mule, with a crow in one hand, and a scourge and fan in the other. In this manner he paraded the streets, followed by all ranks of people, from the royal family to the beggar. Amongst many frolics, which the populace played with the old man, they sprinkled him alternately with hot and cold water; whilst he, crying out *gurma, gurma*, (heat! heat!) sometimes fanned himself, and sometimes lashed his tormentors. He had the privilege of going into every shop, and into every house; where the least delay in presenting him with a piece of money, gave him a right to seize the effects of every trader; and to bespatter the clothes, even of the greatest

nobles, with a mixture of ink, red earth, and water, which he carried in a pot by his side. But all were prepared for *Koufa* at their doors; and their offerings were made the moment of his approach. What he thus received, from the beginning of the cavalcade to the first hour of prayer, was paid to the king, or to the governors of those cities, where the sovereign did not reside: a circumstance which seems evidently to point to a superstitious origin; for, upon any other ground, the whole of the poor creature's collections could be no object to men of their elevated rank. From the first to the second hour of prayer, the amount of the receipts was the property of the old man; and here his pageant ended. He then suddenly disappeared: for after this time, the first person he met in the streets might severely beat him with impunity. ^a

THE next festival, solemnized in *April*, called *Khurm ruz*, is in a different stile; and appears to have been founded upon the rational principles of good government; as it tended to give dignity to a most useful and respectable body of men. The king dined in public; and the chiefs of the farmers had the honour of sitting at table with him: when their sovereign addressed them in words to the following effect. “I am one of you; my sub-

“ sistance, and that of my people, rests on
“ the labour of your hands: the succession
“ of the race of man depends upon the
“ plough; and without you we cannot exist.
“ But your dependence upon me is recipro-
“ cal: we ought therefore to be brothers,
“ and to live in perpetual harmony.”

In the month of *December* they held a festival in honour of deceased friends, images of whom they formed in paste; which they placed where many streets or roads met. They made offerings to them; treated them with great respect; and then burnt them with much solemnity.—In the same month was the ceremony of *driving the Dives from their houses*. For this purpose the Magi wrote certain words with saffron on parchment or paper; and then smoked it over a fire, into which they put the horn of an animal killed on the 16th of *September*, cotton, garlick, grapes, and wild rue. The spell, thus prepared, was glued or nailed to the inside of the door, which was painted red. The priest then took sand, which he spread with a knife, whilst he muttered over it certain prayers; and then strowing it on the floor, the enchantment was complete: and the Dives were supposed immediately to vanish; or at least to be deprived of all malignant influence. f

THE fifth of *February* was considered as the proper day for *clearing their dwellings of scorpions*; a much more serious evil than the Dives. With this view, they pasted on three of the walls of the house, small slips of paper, called *Nushtei Guzshdum*, inscribed with magic characters; none being stuck upon that in which was the gate-way. After various ceremonies, the door was opened, when those noxious animals generally disappeared; which they attributed entirely to the virtue of their spells: whilst the sprinkling of their habitations with compounds, offensive to those creatures, and other preparatory steps, were only considered as secondary causes.—But the most romantic of all their festivals seems to have been the *Merd giran*, celebrated in *February*, in honour of the presiding angel *Isfendarmuz*. He was considered as the Guardian of the Fair Sex, who, on this occasion, enjoyed very singular privileges. They were vested with almost absolute power. The husbands complied, to the utmost of their ability, with all the commands of their wives; and the virgins, without offence to delicacy, might pay their addresses to whom they pleased; and they seldom sued in vain. Numberless marriages were in consequence solemnized, and many engagements made; the angel being

supposed to shew remarkable favour, not only to the nuptials then celebrated, but to all the contracts entered into during his gay festival. An institution, which seems to bear some resemblance to the ancient gallantry of *Valentine's day* in Europe. ⁸

AN attention to those observances, as well as to fortunate days, fortunate names, and every circumstance of supernatural influence, we find indeed was by no means confined, in the East, to the lower orders of men: the greatest, and the most learned, appearing to have been impressed with a belief, equally strong with that of the meanest and the most ignorant. An Asiatic setting out on important business, would return if he met a person whom he supposed to have a *shum kudem* (a black or unlucky foot); or if he saw a deer descending a mountain, or appearing at his back. When a married man took a long journey, it was common for him to twist, in a particular manner, two branches of the broom called *retem*: if on his return he found them as he left them, he was perfectly satisfied of the fidelity of his wife; but if any accident had unloosed or discomposed them, nothing could induce him to believe her innocent. — As in those countries the crops were often destroyed for want of rain; amongst

other ceremonies which they supposed had virtue to procure it, they tied some combustibles to the tail of a bullock, especially of the wild breed ; to which they set fire : and if he then ran up the hill, they looked upon it as a certain prognostic of rain.—When a Persian peasant thought his corn was too long in winnowing, he took a kind of bastard saffron, called *bad engiz*, which he rubbed ; and throwing it in the air, the wind was expected immediately to spring up. ^a

ASTROLOGY, divination, and the interpretation of dreams, were fashionable studies with men of rank ; and they in general carried with them, wherever they went, pocket astronomical tables, which they consulted, as well as astrologers, on every affair of moment.—*Amru*, one of the greatest and most penetrating of the Arabian generals, after having subdued part of Egypt, and other countries, sat down before Jerusalem ; and had almost reduced it to surrender, when he was told by an astrologer, that the predicted conqueror of the Holy City had only three letters in his name. Struck with this, *Amru* suspended his operations, and sent a messenger immediately to his master, the Khalif *Omar*, whose name in Arabic consists of only three letters : and upon his arrival in the camp, the town

instantly capitulated. — *Tamerlane* seldom marched till the astrologers fixed the lucky hour : and an idiot having once thrown a breast of mutton at him, precisely at the time he was meditating the conquest of *Kharezmé*, sometimes called the *Breast of the World*, he interpreted it, before all his army, as an infallible omen of his success. Much good policy, as well as superstition, may possibly, indeed, have been at the bottom of *Tamerlane's* conduct ; as it must have highly animated his troops, who were constitutionally impressed with the strongest ideas of omens, spells, and every species of supernatural belief : a most cruel proof of which their ancestors had given, when they over-ran the Khalifat in the thirteenth century : for many of the Mohammedans having a custom of carrying about them verses or chapters of the Alcoran, by way of preservatives or charms ; the Tartars considered all they met, with such papers, as enchanters ; and put them to death without mercy. The Tartars have ever, indeed, been so strongly impressed with the notion of enchantments, that we meet with strange details in some of their most authentic writers. *Abulgazi*, King of *Kharezmé*, who writes a genealogical history of the Tartars, very gravely tells us, that *Tuli*, one of the sons of *Jengiz*

Khan, having been furrounded by the Kathay or Chinese army, would have been cut to pieces, had he not ordered one of his magicians to turn Summer into Winter. The conjuror accordingly began his operations, and continued them for three days, when he brought down such a storm of hail and snow, that the Khan of Kathay's army, clothed in silken garments and thin stuffs, being unable to move, were slaughtered without resistance.

---One Mahmoud, who pretended to be a forcerer, was followed by numbers; and fomented a dangerous revolt against Jagathai, another of the sons of Jengiz Khan, who succeeded his father in Turkestan. His generals marched to attack the rebels; but, on the point of giving battle, the Mogul army finding themselves enveloped by a thick fog, conceived it to be the enchantment of Mahmoud, and immediately fled, to a man. One arrow only, it is said, was discharged; which by a singular accident killed the Sorcerer: yet so strongly were his people impressed with his supernatural powers, that his brothers found no difficulty in persuading them that he had only made himself invisible for a little while; and assumed the administration of affairs till his return. This revolt was afterwards quelled with some difficulty.

S E C T. V.

Traces of Chivalry in the East. Importance of Women among the Arabians, Persians and Tartars.

CHIVALRY, or Knight-errantry, has ever been so intimately connected with enchantment, that, before we leave this subject, it may not be improper to make a few remarks on such traces of it as may be discovered in the East. The peculiar ideas and habits of a people, as I have often had occasion to observe, may be seen in their Poems and Romances, with a precision not inferior to their more serious and moral Writings; as a Poet of true genius, though he may ascribe to his Heroes more virtues and fewer faults, than are to be found in the imperfect nature of man, will, at the same time, ever copy the living manners of the present or former times. — Single combats in the *Shah namé*, and other Eastern works of fancy, are innumerable. — Asfendiar was one of the most

famous warriors in Ancient Persia. He challenges, fights, and kills Arjash, the son of Afrasiab, king of Turan : but being sent by his father against the famous Rostam, after a single combat, which lasts two days, he is killed by the blow of a mace ; Rostam having discovered that he had a charm which rendered him invulnerable to spear, sword, or arrow.—Rostam has several duels with his own son Sohrab, whom he did not know ; in the last of which he unfortunately kills him.—Those heroes are armed with complete coats of mail, plumed helmets, spears, swords, maces and shields, with daggers, bows and arrows. Their armour, and the trappings of their horses, are uncommonly splendid : and their mode of attack seems in every shape to have been exactly similar to the tiltings of Knight-errantry : excepting in the circumstance of the bow and arrow ; which appears to have been chiefly confined to the infantry, after Chivalry became a regular institution in Europe.—A famous combat is mentioned by all the Persian writers, and seems to be founded on historical fact, between twelve chosen warriors of Persia, and twelve of Tartary. The armies of Kai Khosrou and Afrasiab were drawn up in battle array. To save the effusion of blood, this

combat was proposed ; the success of which was to fix the boundaries of the hostile empires. The Persians gained the victory, chiefly by the prowess of Rostam ; and the Tartar king immediately abandoned all the territory to the southward of the Oxus. Cavun, one of the Persian champions, seems to have been a knight-errant ; for he was surnamed *Rezm khah*, One who goes in search of adventures.—Among the Arabians, nothing was more common than challenging to single combat. At the *War of the Ditch*, so called from the lines which Mohammed drew round Medina, when besieged by the Koreish ; one of the chiefs of that tribe sent a general challenge to the Prophet's army : which was accepted by Ali ; who killed both the challenger and his second.—Ali some years afterwards challenged Moawiyah his competitor for the Khalifat, in the face of both armies, before the battle of Seffin. All the great officers of both sides thought him bound in honour to accept it : but as Ali had no equal for strength and address in arms, Moawiyah judged it more prudent to decline.—Many single combats were also fought between the Arabians and the Greeks at the sieges of Bostra, Damascus and other places in Syria.—Mention is made of two famous Arabian

Knights-errant, one called Abu Mohammed Al batal, who wandered every where in quest of adventures, and the redressing of grievances. He was killed in the year 738. The other was a great grandson of the Khalif Abubeker, named Giaffar al Sadik, who died in the reign of Almanfor, in the year 764—In an imperfect manuscript, which has neither beginning nor end, I met, by chance, with the following anecdote of Giaffar al Sadik. This warrior, who was equally eminent for his piety and extensive knowledge as for his renown in arms, was invited to court by the Khalif Almanfor, that he might profit by his counsel. Giaffar returned for answer, “Whoever has
“ a view only to this world, will not give
“ you sincere advice; and he who regards the
“ next, will not keep you company.” *

THAT mode, which prevailed in Europe, of the knights of hostile armies challenging one another to single combat, during a truce, was very common in the East. I shall give one remarkable instance. The gallant Sultan Jelaledin, whose father Mohammed, king of Kharezmé, was driven from his dominions by Jengiz Khan, having afterwards recovered part of his kingdom, marched about the year 1228 against the Georgians: when a truce having been agreed upon, in order to

adjust, if possible, terms of accommodation, the great men of both armies sent mutual defiances, and many combats were fought. Jelaleddin, disguising himself like a private knight, entered the lists: when a well mounted Georgian appeared against him; but at the first career, he unhorfed him, and successively three of his sons, who wished to retrieve the family honour. A champion of uncommon size then approached. He was surnamed Pil afkun (overthrower of elephants). His blows fell with such force and rapidity, that Jelaleddin, apprehensive lest his horse should fly off, or sink under him, sprung to the ground; and aimed his lance with such address, that he pierced the Georgian's forehead, and extended him lifeless on the ground. ^b

MANY other circumstances which accompanied the institution of Chivalry in Europe appear to have been long familiar in the East: tournaments, throwing the javelin, armorial bearings, and, above all, that respectful attention to women, which formed no part of the national character of the Greeks or Romans. The exercises of the *geridé* and the *kana* were favourite amusements with the young warriors. They darted them at the ring *derit*; and they tilted, or threw them at one another. The Arabian conquerors of

Spain carried the custom into that country ; where, under the description of *Fiestas de las canas*, it is celebrated in the *Romanzes*, as one of the highest public entertainments which the gallant Moors gave in honour of the Ladies. One cavalier was the public challenger or Mantenedor. He run at the ring, or tilted with all who entered the lists. Gold chains, jewels, and other rich ornaments were the prizes : but the most valuable of all was, the picture of the Mantenedor's mistress ; which was placed in a conspicuous part of field ; and surrounded by the portraits of those of the vanquished Knights. The Ladies in galleries, erected round the lists, were generally witnesses of the address, strength, and fortune of their admirers. °

THE attention of the Arabians and Tartars to the Fair Sex seems indeed to have been conducted upon such principles of delicate sensibility, as would hardly be expected from that fierceness of temper, for which they have been characterized. Yet the great lines in the manners of those people may nevertheless, in some measure, account for it. Their attachment to pastoral life, ever favourable to love, with many circumstances peculiar to their roving habits, would frequently produce such situations as might greatly heighten that ele-

gant regard for the sex, which distinguishes refined affection from brutal impulse. Many tribes are often encamped together ; and the young men of one fall naturally in love with the damsels of another. In the midst of their courtship, the heads of the tribes suddenly order the tents to be struck : one goes to the right hand ; the other takes the left. The lovers are separated, perhaps never more to meet : and if we can draw any conclusions from their elegies or their language, those separations have been often fatal. Dying for love is considered amongst us as a mere poetic figure ; and we certainly can support the reality by few examples : but in Eastern countries it seems to be something more : many words, in the Arabic and Persian languages, which express *Love*, implying also *Melancholy*, *Madness*, and *Death*.^a

THE military ideas, which prevailed in Old Arabia, seem also to have been peculiarly calculated to promote a romantic attention to the Fair Sex. A long cessation of hostilities was painful to the Arabs : their arms were often turned against the neighbouring countries, and caravans of travellers ; but oftener against each other. Captives and plunder were the chief objects ; and the women were considered as most valuable spoils. To pro-

test them became in consequence a great point of honour. Those predatory wars, in whatever light we may view them, were considered as highly honourable in Arabia; and no man was thought in any shape accomplished, who could not boast, in them, some feat of arms. Their expeditions were in general short. If they found the enemy too powerful, they retired; if unprepared, they surprized them; if of equal or inferior force, they attacked them: and one battle was for the most part decisive. A young warrior returning after a short absence, and laying his laurels, his captives, and his spoils at the feet of his mistress, would, in general, woo with success: and he, whose gallant intrepidity had saved his tribe from rapine and captivity, would ever be a favourite of the fair. When the flower of any tribe were absent upon a distant enterprize, some hostile neighbours would often attack those they had left behind: and hence arose perhaps the custom of the Arabian women, even of the highest rank, attending their husbands, fathers, and brothers in their military expeditions; and of fighting often with a degree of heroism not inferior to the fabled achievements of the ancient Amazons. We have many instances of the fortune of the day

having been restored by them after the men had fled : but none more remarkable than the famous battle of Yermouk, fought in the year 636 ; which proved decisive of the fate of Syria, and of the Greek Empire in the East. The Grecians greatly out-numbered the Arabians ; and their onset was so impetuous, that they drove them to their tents. There the fugitives were stopt by the women ; who alternately encouraged and reproached them : they threatened even to join the Greeks ; and one of their bravest officers appearing disposed for flight, a lady knocked him down with a tent pole ; saying, “ Advance, Paradise is before your face ; fly, “ and the fire of hell is at your back.” The chief women then took the command ; and made head till night parted the combatants. The next day they led them again to the attack ; a young lady, named *Khaula*, sister to one of the principal commanders, acting as general. In leading the van she was beat to the ground by a Greek ; when *Wafeira*, one of her female friends, striking off his head at a blow, brought the heroine off. Animated by the noble behaviour of the women, the Arabs soon became irresistible, and routed at length the Grecian army, with the loss, it is said, of 150,000 killed, and about 50,000

prisoners. Khaula was afterwards espoused by the Khalif Ali.—The Arabian women were, in general, excellent archers ; and they watched every opportunity of revenging the death of their husbands, their fathers, their brothers, or their lovers. The governor of Damascus, a man of uncommon abilities and courage, killed with his own hand, in a fally, an Arabian of distinction, named Aban, in the fight of his wife, who fought by his side. She immediately let fly an arrow, which missing the governor, killed the great standard-bearer : with the second she was more successful ; she wounded him in the eye, and forced him to retreat to Damascus. *

THE Tartars, as we are informed in the History of Abulgasi Khan, used in the same manner, to carry with them, when they went even upon short expeditions, their wives and families, for the reasons mentioned above ; as that weaker sex must, otherwise, have remained, in the absence of the warriors, a prey to invading neighbours.—Tamerlane, in the intervals between his expeditions, used to assemble all the young females of the army, and order a general marriage ; which he solemnized with uncommon magnificence. After the defeat of the Kipjaks about the year 1389, that prince gave a most

pompous feast in the delightful plains near Samarcand, on the marriage of his Emirs, his inferior officers, and his soldiers ; which was introduced by a grand piece of music, composed on the occasion, called the *Triumph of Kipjak*. He was seated on a throne of gold : rich carpets and brocades overspread the ground : and tables in various dispositions were ranged around to an immense distance : those of the great Emirs being placed next to the throne ; and the subordinate officers and soldiers seated according to their respective ranks, marshalled in battle array ; the bridegrooms on one side, and the brides on the other. Those gallant entertainments, which were accompanied with tournaments, huntings, and various hardy sports, coincided perfectly with the genius of his people. They often continued many days ; for all the great Khans were ambitious of imitating the splendor of their sovereign : and he took pains to encourage their ruling passion. No prince was ever more generous to those who served him well : yet he knew the secret of keeping even the richest dependent on his bounty ; and Luxury was the master-key. War and the Ladies he knew were the great objects of their adoration. They fought and they plundered, only to be gallant and magnificent. ^f

THE marriage of a prince among the Tartars was attended with singular splendor and ceremony. I shall not dwell upon numberless instances which might be brought from the Histories of Jengiz Khan, Tamerlane, Abulgasi, and other Tartar annals, but shall only remark a pompous custom, mentioned by the Vizir Nezam, which I have met with in no other author. It is introduced when occasionally mentioning some particulars of the marriage of his sovereign, the Sultan *Malekshah*, with the daughter of the Khalif. “ The Sultan was encamped on the
“ west side of the Tigris ; and the Khalif’s
“ palace was on the east. On the day chosen
“ for the ceremony, the Sultan gave orders,
“ that all the Great Men who were present
“ should go to the palace of the Khalif to solicit his consent : *for according to the custom of the Turcomans, at the time of the courtship, the Bridegroom’s people go to the father of the future Bride ; and in a supplicating manner request him to give his consent to the match.* In like manner, the great
“ men, then assembled from most parts of
“ the earth, went in procession to supplicate
“ the Khalif : and, to show the regard due to
“ his palace, directions were given, that they
“ should all go thither on foot. When they

“ began to march, the Khalif, who had no-
“ tice of their motion, immediately sent a
“ messenger, who said, that the Commander
“ of the Faithful had ordered *Nezam ul mulk*
“ to come on horseback. So I alone mount-
“ ed ; and all the great men of the world
“ accompanied me on foot. On our arrival
“ at the palace, I was introduced into a most
“ magnificent hall : and seated on an eminent
“ place : and all the rest on my right and
“ left. Then robes of honour were brought
“ for all of us : and, on that for me, was curi-
“ ously wrought the following words, *For*
“ *the Wise and Just Vizir Nezam ul Mulk,*
“ *Emiru'l'mouminin.* And from the begin-
“ ning of Mohammedanism to this day no
“ Vizir has been dignified with the title of
“ Prince of the Faithful.”—The high res-
pect paid by the Tartars to the Sex might
indeed be supported upon many grounds.—
If a Tartar chief married several wives, the
sons of the lady, who was most nobly born,
took precedence of their elder brothers, whose
mothers were of inferior rank. It is particu-
larly remarked, as a general Mogul custom,
by *Abulpharaj*, when mentioning the sons of
Jengiz Khan, by his principal queen Owis-
unjin Begum, daughter of Thogrul Khan or
Prester John ; and seems to be a stretch of

complaisance unknown even in our European laws.—The Vizir Nezam advises his son, if he accepts the Vizirship, to pay uncommon attention to the Ladies of the court, for the following reason : “ Although, in old times, “ especially during the reigns of the ancient “ Kings of Persia, no great regard was paid “ to the opinion of the Queens in matters of “ state ; yet the Khans of Turkestan had al- “ ways a custom of consulting the women on “ all emergencies ; and preferred their opini- “ ons to that of all their counsellors : and as “ the Turcoman princes were originally edu- “ cated among them, they likewise follow this “ custom ; and trust to their prudent advice “ on all occasions. It is therefore absolutely “ necessary that you take shelter under their “ protection.” As Nezam always illustrates his advice by some anecdote from History, or his own observation, he, upon this occasion, gives some instances of the great influence and address of a lady called *Jemila Candahari*, the favourite attendant on the young Tartar queen of Sultan Mahmoud ; who appears, from the account of this penetrating statesman, to have been the chief though secret spring of every ministerial movement. She was handsome ; and endowed with uncommon parts : she was a steady friend, and a determined but not a

cruel enemy. She protected her favourites in the most dangerous situations ; and hurled, with a sure but invisible arm, disappointment and disgrace on the heads of those who wished to rise upon their ruin. †

S E C T. VI.

Conjectures on Eastern Music.

I H A V E mentioned a musical composition performed before Tamerlane, called the *Triumph of Kipjak* ; but I have had no opportunity of discovering any thing satisfactory of the genius of the Tartar, Persian, or Arabian music. They have however three principal *perdes* or modes ; called the *Isphahani*, which appears to be the original Persian melody ; the *Iraki* or the Babylonish ; and the *Hejazi* or the Arabian : which have probably an analogy and a difference, similar to that which is found between the aboriginal music of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Their stile is apparently not very remote from that which prevailed in Europe before the eleventh century ; when Guido and others began to improve the Italian taste. Simple melody seems to be their only object ; without any idea of composition in score, or of harmonic accompaniment ; excepting what

may be produced, by the concord of a deep-toned instrument playing the same piece along with another, tuned a single or a double octave higher. But this approaches so near to unison, as hardly to suggest any idea of that variety introduced by thirds, fifths, and the other less perfect chords ; which so remarkably distinguishes the present European system from that of the ancients. — The Asiatics have a great number of instruments ; and many of those now in use amongst us, tho' considerably improved, appear to have been originally of Eastern invention. One of their most favourite instruments is called the *Barbut* ; a species of lute, which is said to have been invented by a famous musician of that name, who was master to Khosrou Parviz, king of Persia, about the end of the sixth century : but it is probable that he only improved it ; and was perhaps so surnamed, from his excellent performance on the instrument. For the *Barbiton*, which, in name and description, seems to have borne a great resemblance to it, was known to the Greeks ; though it might possibly have been originally brought from Persia ; Strabo observing, that it was so named, as being borrowed from Barbarians. Among the Eastern nations we find a variety of instruments of this species ; which bear a pro-

portion, in point of size, similar to that of the violin, tenor, and violoncello, in Europe. The *Aber* seems to be a common lute; the *Sili* is described with a large swelling belly, and a deep tone. The *Shahshah* is a four-stringed instrument, somewhat like a violoncello. The *Yenem* is another large instrument strung with brass wires, and struck with a short plectrum; the *Yeshkirdé* being somewhat similar, but played with a long bow. The *Sheshsta* has six strings, and is of the same species with the *Kitar*; whence our guitar, from the Spanish *guitarra*, seems to have been borrowed: as it was a favourite instrument with the Arabian conquerors of Spain; who seem not only to have introduced it, but also the gallant custom of serenading their mistresses: on which occasion, not only the words of their songs, but the airs, and even the colour of their habits, were expressive of the triumph of the fortunate, or the despair of the rejected lover. *

THE Persians appear to have been the most musical of the Eastern nations; the Arabians themselves, who have written many treatises on the subject, acknowledging, that they had borrowed from them the greatest part of their knowledge, and many of their terms of art. Father Angelo says that he saw several beautiful musical manuscripts at Isphahan;

some of which were brought into Europe, and placed in the library of Louis XIV. by his Oriental interpreter M. Petis Le Croix. ^b

The great men in the East have been always fond of music. Tho' prohibited by the Mohammedan religion, it in general makes part of every public or private entertainment. Female slaves are generally kept to amuse them, and the ladies of their Harams. Female strolling musicians are also very common; and the Persian *Khanyageré* seems nearly to have resembled our old English Minstrel; as he generally accompanied his Barbut or lute with heroic songs. — Their musicians appear, like old Timotheus, to have known the art of moving the passions, and to have generally directed their music to the heart. I shall mention one instance. Alfarabi, who died about the middle of the tenth century, was a philosopher of uncommon genius; and, amongst other accomplishments, he excelled in music. On his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, he introduced himself, though a stranger, at the court of Seifeddoula, Sultan of Syria. Musicians were accidentally performing, and he joined them. The prince admired him, and wished to hear something of his own. He pulled a composition from his pocket, and distributing the parts amongst

the band, the first movement threw the prince and his courtiers into violent and incessant laughter ; the next melted all into tears ; and the last lulled even the performers asleep.

S E C T. VII.

Private war among the Eastern nations compared with that which prevailed in Europe during the middle ages. Compositions for homicide. The holy months of the Arabians contrasted with the Treuga Dei, and Pax Regis of Europe. Captivity and Slavery.

A VARIETY of customs, we may here observe, prevailed amongst the independent tribes of Pagan Arabians and Tartars, which were either abolished or modified, when they became united under princes of ability and power. One of these was the destructive system of Private War. In every state where the arm of the civil magistrate has been too feeble to check or chastise the crimes of men, private revenge seems naturally to have usurped the place of legal punishment. We find it in full vigour in the middle ages, and universally adopted in every European state. And

so forcible is the prejudice of ancient habit, that even where sovereigns gained strength sufficient, to substitute the laws of reason for the practices of barbarity, they found it not prudent to overturn at once this pernicious offspring of uncultivated minds: but, by loading it with expensive compositions, they endeavoured to make its ravages less hurtful to society. Similar but more savage principles appear to have regulated those Eastern nations. If an Arabian had lost a near relation, a wife, or even a slave, he singled out from among the Captives, when victorious, a freeman for each, and sacrificed them in cold blood. This was not considered as barbarous: it was rather a point of honour; which avarice alone appears to have mitigated: the husband, relations, or master of the deceased, being permitted to dispense with their sanguinary vengeance, in consideration of a mulct. We accordingly find, about the birth of Mohammed, that ten camels were the compensation for a slaughtered man; without any apparent distinction between the freeman and the slave. Mohammed, powerful as he was, durst not, any more than the lawgivers of Europe, so far oppose the general genius of the people, as entirely to abolish this brutal custom: but he endeavoured to mitigate or regulate it by se-

veral passages in the Alcoran; in which, among other circumstances, a distinction is made of rank and sex. In after-times, the composition of ten camels was found inadequate to check the prevalence of private vengeance: and, in the Sonna, it was accordingly raised to a hundred: probably for the same reasons which dictated an encrease of the sanguinary fines among the Lombards and other European nations: because those fines having been originally fixed when the people were poor; they were found too trifling, when, by the extent of their conquests, they had become powerful and rich. It does not however appear, that any thing similar to the European *Fredum*, or proportion paid to the public treasury, subsisted among the Eastern nations; the whole of the compensation being received by the relations or master of the slaughtered person. In the East, as well as in Europe, the relations of the principals in a quarrel seem to have been bound by honour and custom to espouse their party, and to revenge their death; one of the highest reproaches, with which one Arabian could upbraid another, being an accusation of having left the blood of his friend unrevenged. The sacred months of the Arabians appear to have been far superior to the *Treuga Dei* or the *Pax Regis*

of Europe. Three following months in every year, with another one intermediate, must have tended far more effectually to soften exasperated minds, than the interval of three days in a week; which would, in general, only give them a breathing time to prepare for fresh hostilities. Those European ordinances were, at the same time, too often disregarded; whilst in Arabia, they took the heads from their spears, and observed this great salutary law so religiously, that from the earliest periods of record or tradition, they furnished but four or five instances where it had been infringed; and these were stamped with the epithet of impiety, and the universal execration of the people. *

ONE circumstance, however, appears strongly to have distinguished the private wars in the East from those of the West. The manners of Asia seem, in all ages, to have pointed to domestic slavery: and Mohammed, in Arabia, made that an article of religion, which had anciently been only a custom. The Captives were, in consequence, with few exceptions, constantly reduced to a state of servitude; and little distinction seems, in general, to have been made between a princess and her female slave; excepting what she derived from a superiority of personal accomplishments. Those

ideas the Arabians retained amidst their extensive conquests. Many instances might be given; but I shall confine myself to two; as they regard the daughters of the two greatest princes then in the world.—In an action after the siege of Damascus, in 635, amongst other prisoners was the daughter of Heraclius, Emperor of Greece, and widow of the Governor of that city. Rasi, the Arabian commander, to whose lot she fell, presented her, without ceremony, as a slave, to Jonas, a Grecian, who had embraced the Mohammedan religion; but Jonas, from a principle of honour, returned her, with all her jewels, unransomed to her father.—When the Arabians conquered Persia, Shirin Banu, the daughter of king Yezdejird, was one of the captives, and was publicly exposed to sale in the city of Medina; but the liberal-minded Ali thought differently from his countrymen on this occasion: he declared, that the offspring of princes ought not to be sold: and married her immediately to his son Hossain. This anecdote I met with in the mutilated manuscript, formerly mentioned, the author of which I have not been able to discover. Ismael Sefi, who mounted the throne of Persia in the year 1502, derived his descent, as observed before, (p. 73.) from the Khalif Ali; and as he claimed re-

lationship to the ancient royal family of Persia, it was probably in consequence of this marriage. What may serve to confirm this anecdote, is a story related of the Khalif Al Walid, and the Imam Zein Alabdin, son of Hossain, whom he suspected of a design upon the Khalifat. “You are unworthy to reign,” said Al Walid, as being the son of a slave: “your mother was one of the Persian captives.” The Imam answered, “The mother of Ismael, the son of Abraham, was the slave Hagar; yet Mohammed was descended from her.” The Khalif blushed, and was silent. ^b

THE Tartars, in the circumstance of private war, resembled, in many particulars, the old Arabians; in some they differed. The whole history of Abulgazi Khan is filled with the incessant wars of the various tribes. The domestic slavery of the men was, indeed, seldom adopted. They either massacred them, or sent them into distant exile: but the women were made captives. Abulgazi mentions particularly, when the princes of the tribe of Amunak, about the year 1504, defeated the posterity of Burga Sultan, one of the descendants of Jengiz Khan, that they put to death all the males of that house; but their wives and daughters they kept as slaves. When they

spared their prisoners, and either set them at liberty, or removed them to another country, they divided them into small troops of ten or twelve; each of which furnished one, as a hostage for the good behaviour of the rest. A similar custom prevailed of old among the Germans. §

S E C T. VIII.

Generosity and Hospitality of the Asiatics.

AMIDST all the vices and dangerous qualities of the Arabians, Persians, and Tartars, they have been ever distinguished for generosity and hospitality. Particular details would be endless; they are to be found in almost every author who has touched upon the history of those people. I shall only observe, in addition to those accounts, that there is hardly a word in the Arabic and Persian languages which signifies *Avarice*, that does not also imply *Cowardice*, *baseness*, *slavery*, or *villainy*. The Arabians have even a proverb, that no Miser was ever brave, but the Khalif Abdalla ben Zobair. So high is their idea of

the rights of hospitality, that if the murderer of their dearest friends had, even by chance, eaten or drunk under their roof, that alone cancelled every former crime; and they were bound not only to forgive but to protect him. The wretch, who had betrayed the man, whose bread he had eaten, was justly stamped with the deepest infamy; a *Bread and Salt Traitor* being one of the most opprobrious epithets by which one Asiatic could express his detestation of another. — Their veneration for Salt is indeed extraordinary. A robber having one night broke into the palace of the king of Sejestan; and happening, whilst he was making off with his rich booty, to tread upon a stone, which he conceived to be a jewel that had escaped his search in the dark, he picked it up; and, putting it to his mouth, to be satisfied of the truth, he found it to be salt. This accidental circumstance operated so forcibly, even with this loose-principled man, that he then, considered his robbery as a violation of the rights of hospitality; and retired immediately home without his plunder. This famous robber became afterwards king of Sejestan, and founder of the dynasty of the Soffarides. — A custom subsists to this day in India, among the Gentoos, of tasting Salt, together with other ceremonies,

when dividing property among partners, or the heirs of a person deceased.

S E C T. XI.

The Trial by Ordeal apparently of Persian Origin.

AMONGST other laws and usages, similar to those of the Northern nations, we find, that the trial by Ordeal was anciently known in Persia; and it originated apparently from their superstitious veneration for Fire. After exalting that element to the rank of a divinity, we cannot wonder that they should resort to it, for evidence, in points which could not admit of positive proof. In the *Shah namé* we find the description of an illustrious trial, by the Ordeal, above five hundred years before the Christian era. Siavekhsh, son of the reigning king Kai Kaus, had been educated in Sejestan by the great Rostam. His father, hearing much of his accomplishments, sent for him to court; where Saudabé, his mother-in-law, fell in love with him. She soon made a declaration; but, the prince discouraging her advances, she flew in a rage to

the king, and accused him of an attempt upon her honour. The prince protested his innocence ; but the queen persisted, and demanded justice. The king knew not how to decide ; the nature of the case could not admit of proof. He ordered, therefore, a large fire to be kindled, and the parties to pass through it. The prince, without hesitation, boldly entered it on horseback, and passed unhurt. But Saudabé trembled, and durst not venture : she fell on her knees, confessed the truth, and was pardoned on the generous intercession of the man she meant to destroy. Though the whole of this anecdote may be fiction, as part of it undoubtedly is, still I must repeat, that Firdousi would not have mentioned this mode of trial, had it been unknown in Persia.—The trial by Ordeal, where satisfactory evidence cannot be obtained, is still in practice among the Gentoos in Hindostan ; and is of high antiquity. It is mentioned several times in the *Code of Gentoo Laws*, as a common mode of proof, under the title of *Purrikeh* : but I have not been able to discover the particular species which they adopt. 2

S E C T. X.

On the Administration of Justice in the East.

THE administration of justice in Pagan Arabia appears to have been very simple; the heads of the tribes being, in general, the umpires of every difference. Solemn oaths used to be taken over a fire called *hawlet*; into which, if they suspected a witness of perjury, they privately threw a species of salt; which making a sudden explosion, terrified him often into a discovery of the truth. Over a fire they used also to make treaties and other solemn agreements. — After Mohammed had established his prophetic character, causes appear to have been determined only by him and his chief companions: and their decrees were sometimes strikingly decisive. A Mohammedan being cast in a suit with a Jew before the tribunal of the Prophet, appealed to Omar; who happened to be standing at his door when the parties appeared. After listening to the merits with great composure, he bid them wait a little, and he would soon settle the whole affair. He then went into

his house, and returning instantly with a sword, struck off the Mohammedan's head :
 “ Thus, says he, ought all to be punished,
 “ who acquiesce not in the sentence of the
 “ prophet of God.” *

I FOUND a decision of Ali, in the imperfect manuscript formerly mentioned, which seems ingenious, and shows, at the same time, something of the manners of the people in those times. Two Arabians sat down to dinner : one had five loaves, the other three. A stranger passing by, desired permission to eat with them ; which they agreed to. The stranger dined, laid down eight pieces of money, and departed. The proprietor of the five loaves took up five pieces, and left three for the other ; who objected, and insisted for one half. The cause came before Ali, who gave the following judgment : “ Let the
 “ owner of the five loaves have seven pieces
 “ of money ; and the owner of the three
 “ loaves, one : for if we divide the eight
 “ loaves by three, they make twenty-four
 “ parts ; of which he who laid down five
 “ loaves, had fifteen ; whilst he who laid
 “ down three, had only nine : as all fared
 “ alike, and eight shares was each man's proportion, the stranger ate seven parts of the
 “ first man's property, and only one belong-

“ing to the other : the money, in justice,
“must be divided accordingly.”^b

In after times, in the various Mohammedan states, the Law appears to have been strangely perverted ; and the satirists are, in consequence, uncommonly severe. “Former-
“ly, says a poet, the judges were naked
“swords, and the guilty only trembled ; now
“they are empty sheaths, and gorge them-
“selves with the plunder of the suitors. —
“Are you indigent, says another, and have
“you the misfortune to be at law with the
“rich : withdraw your suit ; go to your
“powerful oppressor, and humble yourself
“in the dust : there you may perhaps meet
“with justice and mercy : with the Cadhi
“you can have none.” And in fact no cen-
sure appears ever to have been more justly
grounded ; for in the Eastern languages, there
are not only words signifying Bribes to Judges ;
but others, which denote Men whose public
and professed employment was, The corrupt-
ing of magistrates, to procure decisions con-
trary to equity and law. We may form in-
deed a judgment of the general administration,
or rather perversion, of justice, under some of
the Khalifs, from an appointment of Moctar-
der ; who, about the beginning of the tenth
century, promoted a young damsel, named

Yemika, to be president of *Diwanu'l'mezalim*, one of the principal tribunals of the empire ; which took cognizance of the tyranny and oppression of governors and other great men. °

THE following curious anecdote is told, in the Negaristan, of a famous lawyer of Baghdad, called Abu Joseph. It marks several peculiarities in the Mohammedan law, and displays some casuistical ingenuity in adapting them to the views of his clients. The Khalif Haron Arrashid had taken a fancy for a female slave belonging to his brother Ibrahim. He offered to purchase her ; but Ibrahim, though willing to oblige his sovereign, had sworn, that he would neither sell nor give her away. As all parties wished to remove this difficulty, Abu Joseph was consulted ; who advised Ibrahim to give his brother one half of the slave, and to sell him the other. Happy to be relieved from this embarrassment, the Khalif ordered 30,000 dinars for the moiety of the slave ; which Ibrahim, as a mark of his acknowledgment, immediately presented to the lawyer. But a second difficulty now arose. The Moslem law prohibits all commerce between a man and the wife or concubine of his brother, till she has been re-married and divorced by a third person. Abu Joseph advised the Khalif to marry her to one of his

slaves ; who, for a proper consideration, would be easily induced to repudiate her on the spot. The ceremony was instantly performed : but the slave, falling in love with his handsome spouse, could not be prevailed upon to consent to a separation. Here was a strange and unexpected dilemma ; for, all despotic as the Khalif was, he durst not compel him. But Abu Joseph soon discovered an expedient. He desired the Khalif to make a present to the lady of her new husband, which virtually dissolved the marriage ; as no woman, by the Mohammedan law, can be the wife of her own slave. Overjoyed that the Gordian knot was thus so ingeniously unloosed, the Khalif gave him 10,000 dinars ; and the fair slave receiving a considerable present from her royal lover, presented him with 10,000 more : so that Abu Joseph, in a few hours, found his fees amount to 50,000 dinars, or nearly 25,000 l. ^d

To those strictures many might be added : but I am already led too far ; and time obliges me to conclude. The subjects touched upon, in this Dissertation, are various ; and some of them may be discovered, perhaps, to have been too slightly considered. I have differed freely from very high authorities ; but, sensible how much easier it is to point out errors

than to avoid them, I submit myself as freely to the decision of every intelligent reader. Be it delivered with the temper of the gentleman and the scholar, I shall be proud of every ingenious criticism; and endeavour to improve by a discovery of my faults. I am not attached to a single idea that may be found inconsistent with truth or propriety; and should, with far less pain, see the most favourite theory fall before a judicious investigation, than be justly censured for a failure in candour or politeness. •

P R O O F S
A N D
I L L U S T R A T I O N S.

Page 2. ^a **A**MONGST other proofs which I propose to offer in the course of this disquisition, one appears to me to be of high authority; I mean radical words in the Eastern tongues, expressive of peculiar habits, or inventions; the existence of the terms being positive evidence of the pre-existence of the objects which they describe. In this mode of proof I shall advance no words which appear to have been adopted from the Grecian or other foreign languages; as these could demonstrate no originality: and I shall avoid all circumlocutory description, as that can prove no antiquity. Whatever is expressed by a number of words, we shall, for the most part, find, is neither perfectly nor generally known: it is only when the idea has become familiar, that the superfluity of phrase is dropt, and the principal word becomes sufficient to make the whole completely understood.

P. 3. ^b See this Dissertation, Chap. ii.

P. 4. ^c St. Ephraim and St. Basil insist that the Aramean or Mesopotamian dialect of the Syriac, was that in which God delivered his commands to Adam; the Maronites, or Eastern Christians, contend for the Chaldaic; James Bishop of Roha, Bochart, and others, give the precedence to the Hebrew; Eutychius supports the Greek;

Mr. Webb the Chinese; Goropius Becanus and Pezron are warm for the Teutonic; whilst Gregory Nyssa declares his antagonist Eunomius an impious heretic, for supposing Man to have received any language whatever from God. See also D'Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 514. Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, p. 2. 6. &c. —The learned Bochart has given us a list of about twenty languages, supposed to have been in use in very early ages; and has arranged them, with regard to antiquity, in the following order: The Hebrew, the Chaldaic or Syriac, the Arabic, Phœnician, Egyptian, the Azotian or Philistine, the Persian, Parthian, Median, Elamite, Cappadocian, Pontic, Asiatic, Phrygian, Pamphilian, Libyan, Cretan, and Lycoanic, together with the Greek and Latin; all of which (the three first, the Persian, and two last excepted) were, probably, only dialects of the principal tongues. See Bochart, *Phaleg*, p. 47. &c.

P. 5. ^d See Preface to Arabic Lexicon of Golius, p. 1. Sale's Preliminary Discourse to his translation of the Alcoran, p. 33. et seq.

P. 6. ^e D'Herbelot, p. 513 and 514. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 37, &c.

P. 7. ^f The seven principal Moallakat Poems are in Pocock's Collection in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, N^o 164. And in another volume, N^o 174. are above forty more, which had been also honoured by being hung up in the Kaaba.

P. 8. ^g The subjects of Amralkeis revolting from him, he took refuge at Ancyra in Galatia; where he died, according to some Mohammedan writers, in consequence of wearing a poisoned shirt, sent to him by Heraclius Emperor of Greece, who had taken offence at some satires supposed to have been levelled at him by that prince.

P. 9. ^h Pocock, in his Preface to the *Carmen Tograi*, mentions a circumstance which may give some idea of the pains which the Arabians have taken with their language. A king having sent to a grammarian for the books in his possession relative to that tongue, he desired the messenger to inform the monarch, that, if he wished to have them, he must send sixty camels to carry the dictionaries alone. The Arabians, like the Greeks, were extremely attentive to polish their language, and turn their periods: a rhythmical cadence, called *سجع* *suja*, being in general strictly observed in all their best orations and prose writings. The classical Arabic has received no change since Mohammedanism; nor for many years before.

P. 9. ⁱ *مولى* *moula* from the same root *ولي* *veli* signifies A prince, &c. and also A slave.

P. 10. ^k Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 34. D'Herbelot 87, 589. and 705. *Tarikhu'l'moslemin*, i. e. *Historia Saracenica Thomæ Erpenii*, p. 193. &c. Preface to *Carmen Tograi* by Pocock. Arabic Grammar by the author of this Dictionary, p. 4.—The vizir Moklah had his hand afterwards cut off, on being convicted of a conspiracy: when he upbraided the court for cutting off that hand which had been so useful and ornamental to learning.

P. 13. ^a By Pliny, Zoroaster is called a Proconnesian; by Suidas, an Assyrian and Medo-Perfian; by others, he is stiled a Pamphylian, an Armenian, a Bactrian, an Indian, and a Chinese. His era is still more wide of possibility than his birth-place: Pliny (l. 30. c. 1.) places him thousands of years before Moses: Hermadorus Platonius, Hermippus, and Plutarch, 5000 years before the siege of Troy: Suidas, only 500 years before that period: Eudoxas, 6000 years before the death of Plato (which happened about 350 before Christ): Xanthus Lydius

600 years before Darius Hyftafpes. Justin, 1300 years before Sardanapalus: whilst others fix him in the days of Ninus and Semiramis, who seem to be equally undefined with himself. Some Eastern writers place Zerdusht 1300 years after the flood: some make him the disciple of Elija or Elifha; others of Ozair, Ezra, or Esdras. Some confider him as Abraham: others as the usurper Zohak: and some, according to D'Herbelot, (from the name *Mikhgush*, which occurs in the *Tarikh Montekheb*) have conceived him to have been Smerdus Magus. But the greater number make him cotemporary with Kishtafb, king of Persia; and, consequently, suppose him to have lived near 500 years before the Christian era. See also D'Herbelot, p. 932. Hyde Religio Vet. Pers. 312. 423. 443. et passim. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. II. p. 106. Universal Hist. (fol. edit.) Vol. II. p. 204. Jones's History of the Persian language, subjoined to his Life of Nadir Shah, p. 157. Chardin, Tom. V. chap. iii.

P. 13. ^b The Arabic words *Dounia* the world; *Min din* from religion; *Zeman* time; *Sanat* a year; *Molk* a king; *Ganm* cattle; *Lelia* night; *Ab* a father; *Am* a mother; *Zamam* compleated; and a variety more occur repeatedly in different parts of M. Anquetil's Zend Avesta.

P. 14. ^c The following and fimilar words could hardly ever have been articulated by a Persian: *Rethvanmtché*, *Khschetreiao*, *Iaerienmtché*, *Thvoreschtara*, *Veretregnhetché*. For the fatisfaction of those who are conversant with the the modern Persian, I shall here insert the beginning of the *Vendidad Sadé*, with the Latin translation which M. Anquetil has annexed; and leave them to determine whether (one or two modern words excepted) there subsists the least affinity between them.

Pe nanmé Iezdann : Pavan schaméh dadar Anhouma : frestoié setéôném setéômé eschem vôhou sé fréouérâné mez-déiesnô Zeréthoschtresch vidécoûo Ehoré dekéescho dâtâé hadé dâtâé vidéouâé Zeréthoschtrâé eschéoné eschéhé rethvé iesnâétché vehmaétché kheschnéothrâétché freses-teïéetché rethvanm éïérenanmtché asniénanmtché mâhiénanmtché iaerïenanmtché ferédénanmtché i. v. kh. f. djé khoschnoumen betha hoété parié Sreoschéhé eschiéhé tok-méhé tenomanthréhé dreschîdresch.

In nomine Dei. In nomine justî judicis Ormuzd. effusè precor animam, effusè precor. puro abundantia 3 ire facio τ̃s Ormusd cultor Zoroastrianus cui adversatur Dew τ̃s Ormusd responsum, dato huic dad vendi Zoroastri puro sancto magno izeschné (ago) néaesch (ago) placere cupio, vota facio. temporibus diebus, τοῖς gahan, mensibus, τοῖς gahanbar, annis i. n. p. v. quodcumque khoschnoumen sedens sit, lege. τῷ Serosch puro valido corpori obedienti gloria (τ̃s Ormusd fulgenti). Zend Avesta Vol. I. part ii, P. 77.

P. 16. ^d The Persian, in point of regularity, is perhaps not to be excelled by any language in the world. As one general rule, the third person of the present tense ends in *d*; the only exceptions, which I can at present recollect, being است *est* and هست *hest*, He is. In the Zend, on the contrary, the terminations of this person are irregular to the last degree. I shall mention a few examples. *Ashti, enghem, eoûed, heeté, beouad*, il est. *Eenetôed, eenetôesch apeoueteeé*, il connoit. *Djemad, gueteen*, il vient. *Djemeeté* il arrive. *Djeto, ghnad*, il frappe. *Snes* il frappe; il brule. *Veiozoschtao* il fait. *Eschto* il s'applique. *Reso* il arrange. *Guethad* il faute. *Mossemescho* il meurt. — In which few words, exclusive of the want of similarity in the penults

and antepenults, there are no less than eight variations in the final letters. Were it of consequence, many more could be brought.

P. 17. * *Ormuzd* (Omnipotence) and *Zoroaster* are introduced in dialogue. The lawgiver wishes to know how a man should get rid of a demon called *Daroudj Nefosch*, supposing him, in the shape of a fly, to have taken possession of the crown of his head; *Ormuzd* directs him to wash the part, which would drive the fiend between the eyebrows; from thence he is to be forced, by another ablution, to the back of the head; from that to the ear, then to the nose, the mouth, the chin: till at length, fighting every inch of ground, the poor devil is successively driven over every part of the body, till we find him stationed on the left foot; when *Zoroaster* thus proceeds in his catechism; (what is between hooks being M. Anquetil's explanatory interpolations, and not in the original).

“ Lorsque l'eau a atteint le dessus du pied gauche où se
 “ retire le *Daroudj Nefosch*? *Ormuzd* répondit: (le *Da-*
 “ *roudj Nefosch*) sous la forme d'une mouche se place des-
 “ sous le pied; il faut le lever, laissant les doigts poser à
 “ terre, et laver ainsi le dessous du pied droit. Lorsque
 “ l'on a lavé le dessous du pied droit, le *Daroudj Nefosch*
 “ se retire sous le pied gauche. Lorsque l'on a lavé le des-
 “ sous du pied gauche le *Daroudj Nefosch* sous la forme
 “ d'une mouche, se place dessous les doigts, Laisant donc
 “ (poser à terre) le dessous du pied, on leve les doigts, et
 “ on lave ceux (du pied) droit. Lorsque l'on a lavé les
 “ doigts du pied droit, le *Daroudj Nefosch* se retire sous
 “ ceux (du pied) gauche; et lorsqu'on a lavé les doigts
 “ du pied gauche, le *Daroudj Nefosch* est reversé (viancu
 “ et s'en retourne) du côté du Nord, lui qui, sous la

“ forme d’une mouche, se place sur (l’homme impur) et
 “ le frappe comme le Djodge (chien) des deserts, détruit
 “ les productions des Dews et leurs demeurs,” &c.

When the water has reached to the top of the left foot, where does the Daroudj Nefosch retire? Ormusd replied: (The Daroudj Nefosch) under the form of a fly, places himself under the foot; it must be raised, letting the toes rest on the ground, and thus wash the under part of the right foot. When the under part of the right foot is washed, the Daroudj Nefosch retires under the left foot. When the under part of the left foot is washed, the Daroudj Nefosch, in the form of a fly, places himself under the toes. Allowing the sole of the foot (to rest upon the ground) the toes must be raised, and those of the right (foot) washed. When the toes of the right foot are washed, the Daroudj Nefosch retires under those of the left (foot); and when the toes of the left foot are washed, the Daroudj Nefosch is overthrown (conquered, and returns) towards the north, he who under the shape of a fly places himself upon (the impure man) and strikes him like the *Djodje* (dog) of the desert, destroys the productions of the Dews and their dwellings, &c. *Zend Avesta* par M. Anquetil du Perron, Vol. I. part. ii. p. 341.—Can human credulity suppose this to be the composition of Zoroaster, or of any man who had pretensions to common sense?

P. 18. ‘ In the Preface to the *Farhang Jehanguiri* we are informed, that it was not reckoned elegant in the Deri to use syncopes; the following or similar words being never admitted; as *گو* (speak thou), *رو* (go thou), *فزودن* (to increase), &c. they being always written *برو*, *بگو* and *افزودن*. The softness of this language, in the opinion of the Asiatics, may be learnt from a popular saying, re-

ported by *Ebn Fekreddin Anju*, author of the above Dictionary, “That the *Deri* and the *Arabic* idioms were the
 “languages of heaven : God communicating to the an-
 “gels his milder mandates in the delicate accents of the
 “first; whilst his stern commands were delivered in the
 “rapid utterance of the other.”

Bahaman or Ardeshir Dirazdest is generally supposed to be Artaxerxes Macrocheir or Longimanus. Ardeshir Dirazdest implies The strong lion with the long hands : an epithet supposed to have been given him on account of the greatness of his power and the extent of his empire. Baharam was contemporary with Theodosius II. emperor of Greece, and is known in Europe by the name of *Varanes* or *Vararanes*.

P. 20. § Ardeshir Babegan having entertained some doubts relative to the national religion, ordered the chief priests of the Magi to attend, in order to have them explained ; when the king, on proposing his doubts, delivered himself as follows :

نمایند ان بمن تا شك زکيهان
 کنم دور و هادیرم دین یزدان
 همی خواهم کی زان برهان نمایند
 حقیقت بر همه کیهان نمایند

Numayend an bemen ta shek zegeihan

Kunem dur wa hadirem din yezdan

Hemi khahem ki zan burhan numayend

Hekiket ber hemé geihan numayend.

Let them show it to me, that doubt from the world
 I may drive far off, and embrace the religion of God,
 I wish that by this decision they would show
 The truth ; to all the world show it.

N. B. هاديرم in the second line is either an old word, now obsolete, or an error ; if the last, it may be corrected by substituting پذيرم or كبرم, or some such synonymous word. See Hyde's *Religio Veterum Persarum*, p. 18. It may be proper to observe, that, in the Old Persian mode of writing, every vowel has a distinct character : to write in that manner, the above would run as follows ;

نومایند ان بامان تا شک زیکیهان
 کونام دور وا هادیرام دین یازدان
 هامپی خاواهام کی زان بورهان نومایند
 هاقبقات بار هاهم کایهان نومایند

All the other passages scattered through the *Religio*, as *Old Persian*, are, like the above, simply the modern language in ancient characters.

P. 22. * It is astonishing to consider the number of mistakes into which, in the various lines of literature, the best of our European authors are led, by their inattention to the languages and writings of the East. *Mariana*, the chief historian of Spain, when introducing the Arabian conquest of that country, with an account of the Mohammedan religion, says, “ Fundador de aquella malvada superstición fue Mahoma Arabe de nacion : el qual por la mucha prosperidad que tuvo en las guerras, y por descuydo del emperador Heraclio, se llamó y coronò la Syria, &c.” Vid. tomo primero, p. 311. “ The founder of this accursed superstition was Mahomet, an Arabian by birth ; who, in consequence of his great success in war, and the negligence of the emperor Heraclius, declared himself king of his nation, and was crowned in Damascus, the most noble city of Syria.”—In an event

of some importance to the history of Spain, a Spanish historian should have been better informed: but Mohammed never assumed the dignity of king, and never was at Damascus, nor out of Arabia from the period of his appearance in his prophetic character, excepting in the ninth year of the Hejra (A. D. 630.) when he advanced no farther than Tabuc, half way between Medina and Damascus, and returned after a residence of only three weeks. — Dr. Hyde erroneously places the Persian conquest under the reign of Othman, A. D. 646. See *Religio Vet. Pers.* p. 23. See also Dictionary *دعوات*.

P. 23. ^b The Parsis of Surat, in their *Ravaats*, or collections of traditions, have doomed Alexander to the infernal regions; not for ravaging the country of their ancestors, but for having committed to the flames the *Nosks* or sections of the *Zend Avesta*.

P. 23. ^c Arrian de exped. lib. iii. and vii. Pliny lib. xxviii. cap. 2. For the form of invocation, See Macrobius, in the Secret things of Sammonicus Serenus.

P. 24. ^d See Alcoran, chap. ix.

P. 25. ^e The number of manuscripts supposed to have been burnt, exceeded 500,000. They were distributed as fuel to the keepers of 4000 public baths. Some however are supposed to have been privately saved.

P. 27. ^f See Hyde's *Religio Vet. Pers.* p. 458. Porta xiv. *سadder*. — Anquetil de Perron, Vol. I. P. 2. p. 401. Vol. II. 117, 118.

The pretended Latin original of Milton's *Paradise Lost*; and the History of Formosa by the Jew *Psalmanasar*, amongst other literary forgeries, are well known. Psalmanazar invented even a language, sufficiently original, copious, and regular, to impose upon men of very extensive learning. ^g See Dictionary *دعوات* *Baghdad*.

P. 28. ^h The Khalif Al Tai revived in favour of *Azaddowla* the title of شاهنشاه *Shahinshah*, which was borne by the ancient kings of Persia. See Erpenius's edition of *Tarikh ul moslemin*, or *Historia Saracenica*, p. 237. — See also Dictionary under امير *emir*.

P. 29. ⁱ See Dictionary شاه نامه *Shah namé*. Father Angelo, author the *Gazophylacium Linguae Persarum*, who went a missionary to the East in 1663, says, p. 199) that the language of the *Shah namé* is considered, in Persia, as the idiom of their ancient kings and heroes; and that it is still spoken in the province of Shirvan, near the Caspian Sea, by a people who live in tents. This, if authentic, furnishes another strong argument, that all the difference between the Ancient and Modern dialects, consists entirely in a diversity of character, and in the present intermixture of the Arabic.

P. 30. ^{k l m} D'Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 105, 812, 983. See also the *Negaristan*.

P. 33. ⁿ Amongst many instances of Tamerlane's attention to the encouragement of literature, he presented Firuzbadi, author of an Arabic Dictionary, with 5000 pieces of gold, as a reward for his industry and learning. See Dict. قاموس *kamus*.

P. 35. ^o Many valuable works, of the composition of the last centuries, may nevertheless be scattered over the East; which ingenious and learned travellers may in time discover.

P. 36. ^p *Mahmoud*, Sultan of *Ghezna*, invaded Hindostan twelve times: the first was in the year 1000. The *Ghaurid* dynasty commenced in 1157; and gave way to the *Patans* about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Baber, the great grandson of Tamerlane, after four invasions, defeated *Ibrahim Lodi*, the last emperor of this race, and mounted the throne in the year 1525. The present Great Mogul is his lineal descendant. — With regard to the prevalence of the Arabic and Persian in the Hindostan or Moors, any person conversant with those languages may be convinced, by running his eye over the vocabularies of the vulgar dialect, which have been published by Messrs. Hadley and Ferguson. In the Nagree and Bengal, nothing has indeed hitherto appeared; my opinion, in respect to them, is founded, therefore, upon the number of words which I have occasionally heard mentioned, as belonging to these idioms, which were, in fact, Arabic. I shall confine myself to one strong example. In the trial of the *Maharajah Nuncomar* for forgery, before the supreme court of judicature at Bengal, one of the interpreters, whose practical knowledge of the Persian and Hindostan languages appears to be uncommonly extensive, being asked by the court, what word the witness, then examined, made use of to express *Bond*; he answers, “*Temasook*, which is “a Persian word; it is *Khut* in the Nagree language.” But neither *تمسك* *temasook* nor *خوت* *khut* are of Persian or Nagree original, being both adopted from the Arabic. [N. B. In the printed trial *Immasook* is the word used, which is an error.] It may also be observed, that many of the witnesses who are examined in the Moors, in the Nagree, and in the Bengal dialects, use a variety of words; as *دواة* *sicca dewat* A silver ink standish; *جواب سوال* *jawab sawal* Question and answer, or conversation, (see Trial, p. 53, 54.) with many other words which occur in different parts of the trial. — For the manner in which the Arabic and Persian are incorporated in the Malay, See

Maleisché Spraakunst (a Dutch Grammar of that dialect) by George Henrik Werndly.—The language of the Turks, it may be here observed, is called مولع *muwella*, which literally implies a horse, a bull, or other animal, of different colours; their dialect being a mixture of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian. This name, for the same reason, seems to be also applicable to the languages of India.—Amongst other Arabic and Persian words, which I find technically used in the Code of Gentoo Laws, are (p. 41. 44. 53. &c.) أيام شادي *ayami shadee* Days of marriage. أيام is the plural of the Arabic يوم *yum* A day; and شادي *shadi* is a Persian word signifying Gladness. *Fakeer* A religious mendicant (p. 40. &c.) is derived from the Arabic root فقر *Poverty*, &c. *Haram* A seraglio, (p. 79.) comes from the root حرم *Forbidden, unlawful*, &c. *Vakeel* (p. 105.) An agent, administrator, &c. is from the root وك *Committing to another the management of one's affairs*. There are many more, as *Musnud*, *reyots*, *ibtimandar*, *shebbi tareekkee*, &c. but it is unnecessary to swell this note with a multitude of examples. These furnish a sufficient ground for enquiry; which, I am persuaded, the ingenious Mr. Halhead, to whom we are indebted for the English translation of this Code, will be able fully to investigate, together with many points of more importance: as we are with pleasure informed, (pref. xxxvii.) that he had been happy enough to become acquainted with a Bramin of extensive knowledge, who had undertaken to teach him the Shanscrit language.

P. 38. * Though I have taken the liberty of pointing out what I conceive to be mistakes in some very eminent men; yet I should be very uncandid, if I did not acknowledge, that I have, at the same time, derived from them

much information; and from none more than Mr. Bryant's Mythology; D'Herbelot's Bibliothéque Orientale; and Dr. Hyde's Religio Veterum Persarum. I have often taken the benefit of the researches and opinions of those and other learned men: and make this general acknowledgment, where, through haste or inadvertency, I may have omitted to mention my authorities.

P. 40. ^b Bryant's Mythology; Newton's Chronology; Jackson's Chronological Antiquities; and in general almost every chronologer. They for the most part proceed upon system; and are all in opposition to one another.

P. 41. ^c Bryant's Mythol. Vol. I. p. 130. 145. &c.
^{d e f g h i} See this Dissertation, Chap. I. Sect. ii. Chap. II. Sect. i. ii.

P. 48. ^a See Dict. *اعجم* *ajim*. D'Herbelot, p. 135. 234. 703. 761.

P. 50. ^b See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 52. et passim. Also Preface to Jones's Hist. of Nadir Shah.

P. 56. ^c *Kings of Persia according to the Greeks.*

Cyaxares, the son of Astyages,	Artaxerxes Longimanus.
ante Chr. 610.	Xerxes II.
Darius the Mede.	Sogdianus.
Cyrus.	Darius the Bastard.
Cambyfes.	Artaxerxes Mnemon.
Smerdis Magus.	Artaxerxes Ochus.
Darius, the son of Hyftaspes.	Arfes or Arogus.
Xerxes.	Darius Codomannus.
Artabanus.	Alexander, ante Chr. 330.

The above list I have given, as the most authentic, from Sir Isaac Newton; Herodotus, Xenophon, Pausanias, Justin, and other historians, differing so remarkably, especially with regard to the names, eras, and acts of the early

kings, that, if it was of the least importance to reconcile them, it would be impossible.

Kings of Persia according to the Persians.

Kai Kobad, ante Chr. about 600.	Ardesfir or Bahaman.
Kai Kaus.	Queen Homai.
Kai Khosrou.	Darab.
Lohorasb.	Darab II.
Kishtasb.	Efkander or Alexander, ante Chr. 330.

The כורש *Coresh* of *Isaiab*, *Daniel*, &c. does not correspond with *Cyrus*, as will be observed hereafter.

^d See *Homer Od.* 1 v. 69.

P. 60. دارا A king. داراب (from the participle of داشتن to *have, possess, &c.* and آب water); or perhaps دارا داراب *Dara Darab, King Darab*; as *Dara* appears rather to have been a general epithet, like *King, Sultan, &c.* than the peculiar name of any individual prince. Any argument drawn thence by *Sir Isaac Newton* and others, therefore, that the *Persian* coins called *Darics*, current in *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, were coined by *Darius the Mede*, after the defeat of *Cræsus*; or, according to some, by *Darius the son of Hystaspes*, seems by no means conclusive; either as to the date of the coinage, or even the existence of those princes: as *Darics* might have been struck by any *Dara* or king of *Persia*, as the *Sultanines* might have been coined by any or all of the *Sultans of Egypt*.—همای *Homai* signifies A bird of *Paradise, &c.*—روشنا *Roshana*, in *Persian*, signifies *Splendor, &c.* and is evidently the *Roxana* of the *Greeks*.

P. 62. ^f *M. D'Herbelot*, from this event, and the word *Beizet*, derives the *Bezant* or *Byzantine* wedge of gold;

and not from the town of *Byzantium*, as generally imagined. But this seems a conjecture too refined to be just. The whole of this story, as far as relates to Philip, it must be acknowledged, is to the last degree doubtful; being diametrically in opposition to the most probable and best supported period of the History of Greece. Besides, had there ever been a tribute of golden eggs imposed by the Persians on Philip or any other prince, *خایه* *khaiyé*, *مرغانه* *murghané*, or some word originally Persian, would have been used; and not *بيضة* *Beizet*, which, being *Arabic*, must only have been introduced into Persian writings subsequent to the Arabian conquest. *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 286 and 318.

P. 65. ^a Many of the silver coins of the Ashcanian kings, commonly called Parthians, bore Greek legends. See Father Erasmus Froelich in his *Elementa Numismatica*, Tab. xiv. &c. also Mr. Foster on the Parthian epocha, in the *Archeologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. III. p. 159. N. B. This learned gentleman (p. 164.) interprets *Arsakas*, *Glory of war*; but he produces no authority; and it does not even appear to be a Persian word. The name of the founder of this dynasty is named *اشك* *Ashek* by the Asiatics.

D'Herbelot says, (p. 867.) from the authority of Masfoudi, in a book called *Moroujo'l'dhahab*, that a collection of old Persian historians had been translated into Arabic by an author named Ebn Mocanna.

The celebrated Khondemir observes, in the Preface to his *Universal History*, “That since the age of reason and
“discernment, he had employed his time incessantly in the
“reading and research after history, collecting every thing
“useful and agreeable from the works of the best writers:

“ when having been invited, by the Emir Ali Shir, to superintend a valuable library, filled particularly with historians, carefully collected at a great expence, he had there resolved to digest the labours of his life.” This learned and magnificent prince was governor of Khorassan about the end of the fifteenth century. His noble library was deposited in the city of Herat.

P. 67—70. ^{b c} Nasser, who is also called Al Nodah, brought, among other things, from Persia, a written romance of the adventures of Rostam and Asfendiar. See D’Herbelot, p. 664. See also Alcoran, chap. 31. A teller of tales, or reciter of histories, is called in Persian *نیرنج* *nirenj*.—The evening conversations which the Arabians hold, sitting around their tents, are called *سمر* *semir*.

P. 71, &c. ^d No people in the world are greater genealogists than the Arabians, Persians, and Tartars. One book of Arabian genealogies alone, called *اللبوب* *allobub* (i. e. the hearts or the purity of the noblesse), exceeds 100 volumes. See Dict *انساب* *ansab*. See also *افراسياب* *afra-siab*, *ترك* *turk*, and *سفي* *sefi*; and this dissertation, p. 28. and 57. See D’Herbelot under the different articles mentioned in the text. See likewise Abulgazi Khan’s Genealogical History of the Tartars, chap. 11.

P. 74. ^e Mahmoud Sebekteghin, Sultan of Ghezna, the most powerful prince of the eleventh century, was the son of a Turkish slave. Though a patron of learned men, he seems to have been an exception to the general rule; at least I have not discovered that he aimed at a superior origin, or considered the meanness of his birth as any inconvenience in the government of his empire.

P. 75. ^{f g} A writer called Haji Khalfa, has given us a

catalogue of Oriental historians, to the amount of above 1300. Even private noblemen have been ambitious of being known to posterity; and the memoirs of their houses have been carefully treasured with their archives: a practice which, there is reason to believe, is still universally continued; as we even observe in the discussions relative to the late disputes at Madras: where frequent reference is made to various public and private records, in the possession of the great men of Hindostan; but particularly to a manuscript history of the family of the present Nabob of Arcot, compiled by order of his ancestors when only simple Tartar noblemen. See Letter from Mahommed Ali Chan, Nabob of Arcot, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, p. 17. 20. &c.

P. 76. ^h Besides the great college at Baghdad, called *Madraffat Al Nezamiat*, the College of *Nezam*, this vizir built others at Isphahan, Bassora and Herat. His master the Sultan Malekshah founded many in different parts of his dominions. The Sultan Nouredin, who reigned in Syria in the time of the first Cruzades, founded one at Aleppo, and another at Damascus. The University which Saladin built at Cairo was so extensive, that a large volume is filled with the description of the particular colleges. Tamerlane established a noble seminary at Samarcand. Most of the great Eastern princes took a pride in those endowments: and they in general added to them Mosques, and Caravanseras for the accommodation of travellers.

P. 79. ^{i k} Sclerus, a Greek general, who assumed the purple during the reign of the emperor Basilus II. in the tenth century, took refuge at Baghdad, where he had many private conferences with Azaddadowla king of Persia, and Emiru'l'Omra to the Khalif Al Tay. This

prince is also represented as conversing familiarly with the ambassadors of Nicephorus Phocas. And an Arabian merchant, whom he had sent to Constantinople as a private agent, appears to have been so excellent a Grecian, that he forged in that tongue, and buried, to be dug up at a proper time, a prophecy of an alliance between the emperor of Greece and his master, as king of Persia. A conversation is much celebrated, both by the Greek and Mohammedan writers, between Sultan Alp Arslan (Emiru'l'Omra to the Khalif Al Kaiem) and the emperor Diogenes Romanus, whom he defeated and took prisoner in the eleventh century. The Mohammedan prince treated his royal captive with uncommon politeness, and set him at liberty on the promise of about 700,000 *l.* of ransom, an annual tribute to the khalifat of 140,000 *l.* and his daughter in marriage to the Sultan's son. As the Vizir Nezam was present at this interview between Alp Arslan and Romanus: the following account of it may be considered as more authentic than that of any historian, European or Asiatic. "After some discourse, the Sultan asked "the Emperor of Greece, what he should do with him." The Emperor replied, "If you are a Butcher, kill me; "if a Merchant, sell me; and, if a Prince, set me at liberty." The Sultan had compassion on him, and treated him with great kindness. Some time after, the army "beginning to march back, the Emperor said to the Sultan, I am here a prisoner; and it is certain the empire "will not be long without a head; for doubtless some "other will usurp the government, and you will then be "put to the trouble of marching back to reduce him. "Now that all the passes and strong holds are as yet in "the possession of my dependants; if you send me home, "I will be one of your tributaries. The Sultan then re-

“ turned him in a royal manner ; and he yearly paid the stipulated tribute ; and sent besides a quantity of the fine cloths of that country as a present.” The misfortunes and death of Romanus, it must be observed, prevented his paying the whole of his ransom ; but Alp Arslan having afterwards twice defeated the generals of Michael Ducas, who succeeded Romanus, the tribute agreed to by Romanus was continued to be paid by the Emperors of Greece for many years. — Amongst other Greek and Roman authors, which were translated into Arabic, are Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, Apollonius, Archimedes, Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, Ptolemy, Josephus, Pliny. They also translated many books from the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Indian languages. See also *Tarikhu'l'Moslem* or *Historia Saracenica*, p. 277.— See likewise Newton's *Chronology*, p. 375. *General History* by Guthry and Gray, Vol. II. p. 195.

P. 82. ¹ See Newton's *Chronology*, *passim*.

^a See Mr. Bryant's *Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 97, &c. D'Herbelot, p. 455.—Errat. for Ctesias 2280 read 2075.

P. 85. ^b Dr. Rutherford's *System of Natural Philosophy*, Vol. II. p. 849. Newton's *Chron.* p. 84. &c.

P. 87. ^c See Mr. Bryant's *Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 478. Strabo builds for the Argonauts cities in Colchis, Iberia, Armenia, Media, along the coast of Sinope on the Euxine ; in Crete ; in Italy, on the Adriatic, in the Gulph of Poseidonium, and the Hetrurian isles ; on the Propontis, the Hellespont, Lemnos, on the Ceraunian mountains of Epirus ; besides other structures, of which he speaks with less confidence, on the Celtic coast, at Cadiz, and even as far as India.—Archbishop Usher, Bishop Cumberland,

Dr. Jackson, among other moderns, have considered this expedition, as historical truth.

P. 88. ^d Kings c. xiv. 25, 26.—2 Chron. c. xii. 2, 3. Newton's Chron. p. 17. et seq. and p. 193, 217. &c. Bryant's Mythology, Vol. II. p. 86.

P. 92. ^a Isaiah, ch. xlv. 28. Ch. xlv. 1. &c.—Nehemiah, ch. xii. 10, 11. Jeshua, Joaikim, Eliafhib, Joaida, Jonathan, Jaddua; who are expressly said, in v. 22 to be the priests till the reign of *Darius the Persian*.—Cyrus being never questioned, uncommon difficulties are found in making the eras coincide. *Darius the Persian*, says Sir Isaac, must be *Darius Nothus*; for *Darius Nothus* we should read *Darius Hystaspes*; *Artaxerxes Mnemon* should be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; and *Simeon Justus* should be the high priest who met *Alexander*, and not *Jaddua*. See Newton's Chron. p. 358. et seq.—By this mode of alteration and substitution we may make any thing of any thing.

P. 93. ^b Eastern authors say, that *Ardeshir's* mother was of the tribe of Benjamin, and a descendant of Saul; also, that one of his favourite wives was of the tribe of Judah, and of the line of Solomon.

P. 100. ^d The first was the father of *Darius*, that is, *Achsfuerus*, *Assuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, or *Cyaxeres*, &c. *Newt. Chron.* p. 308.—*Xerxes*, *Achschirofch*, *Achfweros*, or *Oxyares*, succeeded his father *Darius*, &c. See p. 353.—Josephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, are apparently right with regard to the prince who married *Esther*; yet notwithstanding Dr. Hyde's opinion, (*Relig. Vet. Pers.* p. 43.) it is not from the names that any analogy can be discovered. The king, in the Persian historians, supposed to correspond with *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, is *Ardeshir* *Dirazdest*, or *Bahaman*, so often mentioned; but except-

ing the initials, there is not a corresponding letter in the words; nor any circumstance in sound or sense that can justify such corruption. *Ardesbir*, as before observed, (p. 93.) was a great friend to the Jews: his favourite wife, according to the Persians, was of that nation; his era and marriage will agree therefore perfectly well with the Ahasuerus of Scripture; who must, however, as well as the Jewish captivity, if this conjecture is found to be rational, be brought down about a century lower than the present chronology. — In Nehemiah, Artaxerxes is written ארתחשטא *Arteستا*: and Dr. Jackson in his Chronology Vol. I. p. 454. supposes him to be Xerxes; which, as will be hereafter shewn, is impossible. *Arteستا* and *Artaxerxes* are apparently Hebrew and Greek corruptions of a Persian royal title. And that there were two different princes so named in the Bible, will appear from Ezra and Nehemiah. The first was reigning in the year 522; and the other only began to reign in 466 before Christ. At the first of these periods the Greeks fill the Persian throne with Cambyfes. See Ezra iv. 7. Nehemiah ii. 1.

Many words in Persian are written either with or without the initial *Elif* or *A*; اسکندر *Eskender* or سکندر *Se-kender* Alexander. افریدون *Afridoun* or فریدون *Feridoun*. افشاندن *afshanden* or فشاندن *fushanden* To scatter. اكر *eger* or كر *ger* If. ابر *aber* or بر *ber* Upon. اشكل *ashkel* or شكل *shkel* A fether, a shackle. اشکم *ashkem* or شکم *shkem* The belly, &c. If *Chosru* is written with an initial *A*, it forms *Akhosru*. In Hebrew *Ahasuerus* is אחשוורוש, which, by the difference of pointing (a mere arbitrary modern innovation, and not in use till many centuries after those Sacred Books were written) may be

pronounced *Ahasuerus*, *Achasuerus*, *Achosurus*, *Ahasurus*, &c. *as*, *es*, *os*, *us*, or *s*, being in general only Western terminations added to Eastern names; as *Darius* from *Dara*, *Sapores* from *Shapor*, *Hormisdas* from *Hormozd*. The difference therefore between *Chosru* and *Ahasuerus* appears so simple, and so much in conformity with the idiom of the language, that it may rather be called a provincial variation than a corruption; there being many words in Scripture, which undeniably mean the same place, written with a much greater disagreement: the sacred writers, in matters of such trifling import as proper names, appearing always to have followed the general rule, of spelling such words after the manner in which the Jews then pronounced them. — The following is given as one example of the different manner of naming the same place: *Ararat*, the mountain where the ark rested after the flood, is called, by Jeremiah, *Ararat Minni*; the Syriac and the Chaldee paraphrast make it *Kardu*; the Samarito-Chaldaic version, *Tararah Sarnedib*; the Hebrew-Samaritan, *Hara-rat*; the Arabic, *Karda*; and the Vulgate, *Montes Armeniae*.

See *Ezra*, Chap. iv. 5. 6.

P. 102. ° Many circumstances in our own times, it may be here observed, create no wonder, because they are familiar; but a little attention to them will often save us much trouble. How many different shapes does the same Christian name assume in the different nations of Europe? and if we allow such liberties to the ancients, which unquestionably they took, we shall be no more surprised at finding the same word differently pronounced by a *Hebrew*, a *Persian*, a *Syrian*, or a *Greek*; than by an *Englishman*, a *Frenchman*, a *Spaniard*, or an *Italian*. Could any thing but positive information induce an Asiatic to believe

that the following were the same names: *John, Joannes, Jean, Juan* (pronounced also *Huan*), *Ivan*, and *Giovanni*—*James, Jacobus, Jaques, Jago*, and *Giacomo*—*Joseph and Giuseppé*—*George and Forje* (pronounced also *Horhe*)—*William, Guillielmus, Guillaume*, and *Guillermo*—*Walter, Gualterus, Gautier, &c.*

See this Dissertation, p. 19. 29. and their notes.

There are many names in *Esther, Ezra*, and *Nehe-miah*, which are undoubtedly Persian; and others which are probably so, though under Chaldaic and Hebrew disguise; as *Esther* from *استر ester* or *ستارا sitara* A star; *مهمان mehman* A stranger or guest; *میشاخ misbakh* A vine branch; *ملزار melzar* A vineyard. *واشتي vashti* A beautiful or excellent woman. — *גנזי ginzi* or *ganzi* (*Esth.* c. iii. 9.) seems to be the Persian *کنجی gunji* or *ginji* A treasury; and here the learned Bochart (*Phaleg* p. 69.) seems to have made a mistake: for he says “*Perfæ hodie dicunt ceniz*;” *کنز kenz* in Arabic signifies Treasure; but *کنیز keniz* or *ceniz*, in Persian, signifies A girl; and the word in that language denoting A treasury, as above observed, is exactly the same with that in the Bible: the difference of vowels being of no consequence; and nothing being more common in the East, even at this hour, than pronouncing many words written with *ج j*, as if spelt with *z*; as *فوجدار foujdar* or *fouzdar*; *کجرات* *Gujerat* or *Guzerat*; *جنگیز خان Jengiz Khan* or *Zengiz Khan*.—Indeed almost every observation which this learned man has made, with regard to the Persian, evidently shews that he did not understand it; and there are many circumstances which render his knowledge of the Arabic questionable. Had he understood it, he could not easily have made the above observation on *ceniz*; any more than

the following : “ Nehemiæ ii. 8. פֶּרְדִּים (pardus) *paradisus* creditur esse Persicum.” *فردوس fardus* is however an Arabic word, as well as Hebrew : but it is foreign to the Persian. — N. B. The Arabians having no *p*, use *b* or *f* instead of it. — Bochart’s conjectures, with regard to *Pasergada*, (which, without necessity, he transposes to *Parasgada*, and translates Persian army) *Chorsakas*, *Shatranj*, &c. p. 69 and 253 are also wrong.

P. 104. ¹ See this Dissertation, p. 18. et seq.

105. ² See New System of Ancient Mythology, by Mr. Bryant, Vol. I. p. 226. “ I am entirely a stranger to the “ Persian and Arabic languages.” See Vol. III. p. 34. “ In our progress to obtain this knowledge, we must have “ recourse to the writers of Greece. *It is in vain to talk “ about the Arabian or Persian literature of modern date ;*” &c.

³ See Preface to Vol. I.

P. 108. ⁴ Mr. Bryant says, Vol. III. p. 582. “ It is “ said, that in the Shaster of this people (Gentoos) a like “ history is given of the earth being overwhelmed by a de- “ luge, in which mankind perished.” How shall we re- concile this with the following extract from the Preface to the Code of Gentoo laws, (p. xxxix.) “ For then we at “ once come to the immediate era of the Flood, which “ calamity is never once mentioned in those Shasters ; “ and which yet we must think infinitely too remarkable “ to have been even but slightly spoken of, much less to “ have been totally omitted, had it even been known in “ that part of the world. The Bramins indeed remove “ this objection by two assertions : one, that all their “ Scriptures were written before the time by us allotted “ to Noah ; the other, that the Deluge really never took “ place in Hindostan.” — See also Observations on the

Apamean Medal, by the Hon. Daines Barrington, in the Archeologia of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. IV. p. 315.

P. 110. ^d Bryant's Mythol. Vol. I. Pref. p. vii. and xv.

P. 111, 112. ^{e f} The principal of these are, *Aur, our, or; el; on, aon, or eon; cham, ham, or hama; ait or aith; as, ees or is; san, son, zan or zaan; semon; arez; kur or cur; bel, bal or baal; ast, asta, esta or hestia; shem, shamen or shemesb; fer; tal, &c.* Bryant's Mythology, Vol. I. from p. 1. to 127. Vol. II. 190. and 535. Vol. III. Pref. p. vii. et passim. See also Dict. رجوم *rujum*.

P. 115. ^g العين العين *elain*, الاور *elaur*, الشام *ain el sham*, السعيد *el said* or *effaid*. See also Mythology, Vol. I. p. 15. and 16. Likewise Arab. Gramm. p. 10.

See Moallakat Amralkeifi, dist. 27.

فَقَالَتْ يَمِينُ اللَّهِ مَا لَكَ حِيلَةٌ

Fakalat yaminallahi ma lika hilatoun,

And she said, By the right hand of God, you shall not be deceived.

El implies likewise, *A race, family, &c.* in which sense, as a prefix or an adjunct to the name of the founder, it may denote any people descended from one common ancestor; but without marking any particular mode of worship: and we find it accordingly used often by historians, to distinguish the families of Eastern princes; as *Al Othman* The house of Othman, *Al Seljuk* The Suljukian dynasty, *Al Jengiz* The family of Jengiz. — See Dictionary ال — as the Persians generally add, in pronunciation, a short *i* to the noun which governs the genitive, they may be also written in our characters, *Ali Osman*, &c. N. B. *Othman* is the Arabian, and *Osman* the Persian pronunciation of عثمان See also Dict. الله

P. 116. ^h *Aon*, in Arabick, it may be observed, signifies *assistance, defender, &c.* *Elaon* might denote, therefore, *The defender*; *Ab-el-aon*, *The Father Defender*; which, whatever may have been the true origin, seems a more simple and unforced etymology, at least, than the interpretations of *Summus Sol*, and *Pater Deus Sol*, for which no solid bottom can apparently be discovered. See Dict. عون See Woodward on the Wisdom of the Egyptians, in the Archeologia of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. IV. p. 212.

P. 119. ⁱ *Hamé*, Mr. Bryant says, Vol. I. p. 3. on the information of *Gale's Court of the Gentiles*, signifies the Sun in Persic. The authority is suspicious: I have been able to discover nothing similar to it in that language; and must withhold my belief. *هام Ham* or *هامه hamé*, signifies in Arabic, *inter alia*, *A prince or chief of a family*; and in that sense may explain the origin of many names: whilst *حمام hammé*, implying *A warm bath or spring*, might naturally give appellations to hot bituminous fountains, without forcing their etymological origin to the Sun, or to the patriarch *Ham*.

A transposition of radicals is to be found, though it occurs but seldom; as *مدلوج* or *دملوج* Bracelets; *مغروسة* or *مرغوسة* Confusion, &c.

P. 120. ^k *Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 18. See also Dictionary *اية* Hebrew *ait*; *اذر azer*, and *ماء mah* p. 1570.

— The Arabians, &c. pronounce *ذ dh, ds, or th*; *ض dh, dd, dz, ds, dth*, all which the Persians sound *z*. See also Arabic Gram. p. 9.

P. 121. ^l *Mythology*, Vol. I. p. 26. See also Dict. *اس as*, *اساس asas*, and *اسيس asis* — *عز az*, *عزاز azaz*, and *عزیز aziz*. See likewise *اتش atish*, and *اد اس ad-as*.

P. 123. ^m Mythology, Vol. I. p. 34. Vol. II. p. 122-3. &c. **زون** *zun* in Arabic, it may not be improper to observe, signifies an *idol* in general. — See also Dictionary **اذر** *azer*, **اذرسان** *azersan* or **ادرسان** *adersan* and **برزین** *berzin*.

P. 126. ⁿ Mythology, Vol. I. p. 62. and 225. and 226. Vol. II. p. 461. *Hestia* must be from a different root: In Persian **هستی** *hesti* signifies *A being, substance, existence, essence*; and in this sense may have perhaps been used as the name, title, or attribute of a divinity. *Istakhar* ought properly to be spelt **استخر**, but by the Arabians it is in general written **اصطخر**; whence Dr. Hyde has conceived the derivation to have been from **صخر** rocks. See Dict. **خور** and **خر**, **ایستادن**, **استادن**, **استا**, **ایستا**.

It may be observed, as a general rule, that the Persians, Arabians, and Indians, writing without the short vowels, and seldom in their manuscripts affixing the vowel points, it is impossible to reduce them to any fixed standard: the pronunciation of different kingdoms or districts being, in many respects, distinct from one another. Where a word is spelt therefore in our characters *asta*, *esta*, *ista*, *osta*, or *usta*, it makes, in general, no alteration in the sense. Eastern nations have indeed not only a variation in pronouncing; but much of the apparent discrepance has arisen from the different powers, which the different nations and individuals of Europe have given to those vowels; and the arbitrary modes which translators and travellers have laid down for expressing Oriental words in the characters of Europe: there being hardly, for example, two gentlemen from India, who, although sounding the words precisely in the same manner, will not, when expressing those sounds upon paper, differ remarkably in the compass of a

very few lines.—See Arabic Grammar, p. 5. and Preface to Specimen of Persian Poetry, p. xiii.

It may be objected to those etymologies, perhaps, that the word is most commonly written *اصطخر*: but, whilst the authority of the author of the *Farhang Jehangiri*, who spells it in the true Persian manner *استخر*, appears to be unquestionable on this ground; when we consider, at the same time, that the character now in use amongst those Oriental nations, had no existence (as observed above, p. 10.) till the tenth century of our era; and that *Istachar* was founded perhaps 2000 years before that period; those particular letters, which the Arabians have since chosen to express that name, can have no more weight in a discussion of this nature, than advancing the French manner of writing *Londres*, as an argument that *London* was an error.—See also Mythology, Vol. I. p. 65 and 66.

P. 130. ° Hebrew שמש *shemesh*. Arabic شمس *shems* The Sun. شام *sham* Syria; with the article, الشام or الشامه *el sham* or *eshshameh*.

D'Herbelot says, p. 772. that some Eastern geographers derive the name *Sham* from a *wart*; because the country is studded over with a number of small hillocks, resembling those excrescences on the face. Black moles on the face have ever been considered in the East as extremely beautiful; and circumstances full as whimsical have often given names to places.—See also Dictionary سوري

See Mythology, Vol. I. p. 6. and 94. — The Oriental adjunct is *ستان* *stan* or *ایستان* *istan*, the participle of *ایستادن* or *استاندن* To stand, reside, dwell, place, fix, &c. whence *مغلستان* or *مغلستان* *Mogul-istan* (part of Tartary). *هندستان* or *هندوستان*

Hindo-stan (India). *فارسپستان Fars-istan* (Persia).

خوزستان Chuz-istan (Sufiana). This last country Mr. Bryant, as well as Bochart, supposes to have been so named from *Chus*; but *z* and *s*, as before observed, being distinct radicals, and never confounded but by error or vulgarism, it has a very suspicious bottom: whilst *خوز Chuz* in Persian signifies *a nation*; and is particularly applied to denote the inhabitants of this very district.

P. 130. *پ ۹۱ Aur* (Vol. I. p. 13.) seems to be the Arabic *ار ar, irr*; *اري ari, ira*; *اوار uwar* (plur. *اور awr* or *awar*) Heb. *אור aur*, which denote, amongst other significations, Fire, a fire-place, kindling a fire, heat (of the Sun, of fire, of thirst, &c.) — *Ab* (Myth. Vol. I. p. 2.) is *אב* in Heb. and *اب* in Arab. *Father*. — *Ad* (p. 23.) Mr. Bryant conceives to be *A chief, king, lord*; and supposes, when doubled, that *adad* should imply something superlative, as *A king of kings*; but superlatives are not so formed in the Eastern dialects; and *اد ad* is perfectly synonymous with *اداد adad*; both, in Arabic, implying *Victory, strength, superior power, &c.* neither is *ada* the feminine of *ad*, *ادا* or *ادي* being a different root, signifying *assisting*; also, *increasing in strength, &c.* None of those words, at the same time, appear to signify *one*, according to Macrobius; nor *first*, agreeable to Mr. Bryant's conjecture. *اعد Ad* and *عاد adad*, from another root, denote *Number* in general; and *عدو adu* (pl. *اعداء ada*) signifies *an enemy*: in all which senses we can see sufficient presumption for the formation of proper names: and for their being figuratively applied to chiefs or conquerors, to friends as well as foes. — Our learned author next objects (p. 25.) to the de-

rivation of *Adam*, *adama*, *adamana*, and other similar names, &c. from the Hebrew אָדָם, or the Arabic آدَم, wishing to support the Cuthites, by tracing such places to *Adham*, which he translates *Lord Ham*: but, whilst *Ad* does not appear to signify a *Lord*; whilst the veneration paid to *Ham* is by no means proved; and whilst the texture of the Oriental languages, as above observed (p. 118.) will not allow the dropping of the medial *h*, we can see no ground for departing from the above roots; which not only denote the *Father of mankind*, but *man in general*, a *chief*, *concord*, *society*, &c. which are, unquestionably, etymological grounds of superior strength to that which he proposes. — *Semon*, he says, (p. 38.) signifies *Cælestis Sol*; but it appears to be simply the Arabic سَمَاء *fema*, or the Persian سَمَان *feman* or آسمان *asuman* Heaven, without any particular reference to the Sun. *Di* or *Dio* a deity (p. 38.) appears to have some analogy to the Persian دیو pronounced *dio*, *diu*, *dew*, or *div*, which implies a *supernatural being*, a *demon*, a *genie*, &c. — *Kur* (p. 39.) appears to be the Persian خور or خَر *Khur* The Sun. — *Cohen* or *Kahen*, he says, (p. 40.) appear to have been pronounced *Cahen* and *Chan*, and to have signified a *Priest*, and also a *Lord* or *Prince*. — کُهَن *kubun* in Persian and کَاهَن *kahen* Arab. (pl. كَهَنَة *kehené* or *kehenet* and كِهَان *kehan*) signify a *priest*, *soothsayer*, *augur*, &c. But the word which denotes a prince is from a different root, being written خان *Khan*, the name by which the emperors of Tartary and other Eastern princes have been generally known. As for *Konah*, the title of Moses, it differs from both, being the Hebrew קֹנָה. — *Bel*, *Bal*, *Baal* (p. 45.); بَعْل in Ara-

bic signifies *a lord, a master, &c.* which appears to be the true meaning of this Babylonish idol's name; and no proof is brought of its being in any shape the particular representative of the Sun.—*Keren* or *kern* (p. 46.) signifies, in Arabic, *a horn*; *قرن* *keren* denotes also *junction* in general, and *قران* *keran* *A happy conjunction of the planets*: it is also an epithet synonymous to *Felix* or *Augustus*: hence *صاحب قران* *saheb keran* has been a royal title adopted by many Oriental princes, especially by *Tamerlane* and by *Shah Jehan* the Great Mogul, (See Dictionary p. 1033.)—*ذو القرنين* *Zulkernin* was also a title given to the two Alexanders, or *Caicobad* and *Alexander the Great*, (See Dict. *سكندر*). *Craneus* or *Carneus*, which Mr. Bryant mentions as titles of the Sun, may possibly be merely the Greek termination added to *كران* *keran* or *geran*, *كرانه* *kerané* or *gerané*, which, in Persian, mean *great, grand, exalted, excellent*; epithets naturally applicable by the Persians to that splendid body which was so long the chief ostensible object of their worship.—*Oph* A serpent, (p. 49.) may perhaps be analogous to the Arabic *افعي* *efa* or *efai* A viper; whilst *اوب* *aub* signifies in Persian A large serpent or the *Python*; and *Abadir*, which he interprets the *serpent deity*, may possibly be the Persian *اوب ادير* *aubadir* signifying a fiery serpent.—*Ain* A fountain, (p. 51.) is the Arabic *عين*—Under this article, a note occurs (p. 56.) relative to *Damascus*, which is a further proof how much a resemblance of sounds may mislead where there is no radical knowledge. He says, *Damasec* is the city of the prince; but whilst it is impossible to make a city of *Dam* or *Ad-ham*, *شيخ* *Sheikh* A prince, &c. is a root widely differing from the

terminating syllable of دمشق *Demshek*, the common way of writing Damascus (See Dict.) — *Phi* or *fi* (p. 89.) في *Phi* in Arabic signifies the *mouth*: it is the genitive of فو *fu* or فوه *Phuh*; but it is also used in the nominative: whence في عين *Phi-aini* or *Phi-ainin* may imply, The *mouth of a fountain*. I should much doubt, however, if *Pharaoh* can have any relation to this particle. فرعون *Phiraon* in Arabic signifies A *crocodile*; and the people of Egypt are called by them فرعون قومي *Phiraon Koumi* The people of the crocodile. It signifies also, metaphorically, a tyrant; but whether this meaning took its origin from the voraciousness of the animal, or the animal was so named from the brutality of the prince, it may be difficult to determine. Some learned men, it may be observed, however, have doubted whether this word was ever adopted by the Egyptian kings, or applied by their subjects; considering it merely as a name of contempt, bestowed upon them by neighbouring nations. *Phialé* seems to be the Persian پیاله *pialé*, (it being common with the Arabians and other nations to change the Persian *p* into *ph*, as فارس for پارس *Perfia*; فیل for پیل An elephant, &c. *Pialé* signifies a phial, a cup, and also a large vessel; and hence may imply any subterraneous basin into which a river might discharge itself.—*Ai*, and *aia* (p. 90.) may perhaps be the Arabic اوي *aya* اوي *awa*, which denotes a *mansion, dwelling, place of rest, settlement or residence*; and, in that sense, may apply to the combination of *Aigupt*, the dwelling of the Copts or Egyptians. With regard to *Athenai*, *Thebai*, &c. I should hardly suppose, that these had any connection with the East; being mere Greek in-

flexions. In which light I should likewise view *Rom-a*; *Etn-a* (which he interprets the *country of Rom, of Etn, &c*); as I think it rather refining too much upon derivation to search for occult Asiatic meanings for mere Grecian and Roman terminations; which are so perfectly consonant to the texture of the Greek and Latin tongues. As to *India*, which upon this etymology he would translate *The Country of Ind*, it certainly was never known in that quarter of the world; the original word being *هند* *hind* An Indian, or the Indian nation; *هندي* *hindi*, or *هندو* *hindou* Indian, belonging to India, &c. *هندوستان* or *هندستان* The country of the Indians.—*Macar*, which (p. 67.) he says is a sacred Amonian title, and gives names in consequence to many places, appears to be simply the Arabic *مقر* *Macarr*, which denotes a *place of residence, a habitation, &c.* *Macarron* is the same word, either in the plural, or pronounced with the *nunnation*. (In reading the Alcoran and other books in the solemn style, *on* is often the termination of the nominative case, *in* of the genitive or dative, and *an* of the accusative; which, in common reading or conversation, is generally dropt: this is what Arabic grammarians call *nunnation*, See Arab. Gramm. p. 33, &c.) The ancient Gedrosia is now named Mocran.—*Melech*, (p. 70.) is Hebrew and Arabic for a *king*, and also an *angel*; as *מלך* and *ملك* *melek* or *مالك* *malek*; and *ملكة* *meleké* or *meleket* A queen.—*Anak* (p. 72.) seems to be analogous to the Arabic *عنت* or *اعتق* *anak* or *unk*, which denote *Princes, chiefs, tall men, &c.*—*Sar* or *zar* (p. 73.) *سر* *ser* or *far*, in Persian, signifies *The head, summit, chief, principal, &c.* and is one of the most com-

mon compounds in the language; as, سردار *sardar* A general, or chief; سرخیل *serkheil* The commander of a troop; سراخور *serakhur* The master of the horse, &c. Placed after nouns, سار *sar* denotes *Magnitude, multitude, and similitude*; as کوهسار *kubhsar* A large mountain or mountainous country; برگسار *berksar* Full of leaves; شاهسار *shahsar* Royal, like a king. سارا *sara* means pure, excellent, &c. سرا *sera* is A palace; زار *zar* is an adjunct expressive of place, especially where there is a great quantity of any thing, as لاله زار *laleh zar* A bed of tulips; گلزار *gulzar* A rose-garden. زر *zer* signifies gold; زرسان *zersan* Golden. A variety of other meanings may be given of those words; which, in their natural, unforced senses, will denote *Dignity, quality, or situation*, without having recourse to the figurative signification of a *rock*, which is doubtful and unconvincing. It may also be observed in general, that all Persian nouns, (with very few exceptions) when applied to any thing having life, form their plurals in *an*; so that combinations of titles, such as *sar-an, sar-on, &c.* are easily deducible from the same roots, without any compound, or adjunct.—*Air* (p. 92.) ایر *air*, in Arabic, denotes the *North* and the *East*; also a *scorching wind*; it signifies likewise a *hard stone, cotton, &c.* From another root, عیر *air* means a *caravan, a chief, a prince, &c.* آرا *Ara* implies *honey, sweet dew, manna, (and, as well as ar, ir, or) fire, heat, &c.* *Ara* in Persian expresses *Adorning, beautifying, ornament, &c.* all which senses may easily be supposed to have entered into the composition of many names of places; as the accident of situation, elegance of buildings, the produce of the soil, or a respect for their chiefs, might suggest,

The same idea may be likewise adopted with regard to قير *kir*, قار *kar*, قور *kur*, &c. which in Arabic signify *Bitumen, pitch, camels*, &c. Kar, kur, Karat, kirat, &c. A hill, a large stone, a tract of stony country, cotton, &c. كار *Kar* in Persian denotes *Art, commerce*, &c. whence we may easily suppose, *The country of bitumen, cotton, or camels, The castle on the hill, The city of commerce, The rocky region*, &c., &c.—Col, cal, calah, &c. (p. 93.) may be different modes of pronouncing the Arabic قلعة *kala* or *kalat* (plur. قلاع *kyla*) which imply *Castles, towers*, &c. especially on the tops of mountains or high grounds. — قلة (plur. قلال) Arab. is *A hill*. — جب *Gib* (p. 94.) in Arabic denotes a mountainous country, which is also expressed by جبل *Gibl*; whence comes *Gibraltar*. — تار *Tar*, in Persian, is the summit or ridge of a mountain, &c. and طور *Tur*, in Arabic, is generally used to express *Mount Sinai*. — Caph, &c. (p. 95.) which is interpreted *A rock, promontory*, &c. has every appearance of being that fabulous mountain قاف *Kaf*, (see Dictionary) which the Arabians, Persians, and other eastern nations have supposed, beyond all tradition and long after Mohammed, to surround the world. It became therefore the subject of much fable, and of perpetual allusion; every hill or promontory, which their writers meant to distinguish, (like Alps or Alpine with us) being called *Kaf* or *Kaph*. *Caph-el, Caph-ar, and Caph-arez*, may therefore be interpreted *The Mount of God, the Vulcano or mountain of fire; the Hill of the world*, &c. ارض *arez*, amongst many significations, denoting *the world*; without having seemingly any reference to the *Sun*; which, in a variety of places, Mr. Bryant lays down as an undi-

puted fact, but without supporting it by the least satisfactory authority. — *Beth* is the Hebrew בית, the Arabic being بیت *beit*: they both signify a *house, temple, &c.* آباد *Abad* is Persian, and implies a *place of residence*. س or ک *Gau* or *kaw* (p. 98.) in Persian, means a *hollow, low ground, or any excavation*; whence it might be applied to a *house in a bottom, a cavern, or any thing similar*; it also denotes *magnificent, venerable, great, strong, warlike, powerful*. *Gaw* signifies likewise *The Sun*, with a variety of other meanings, see Dictionary.—*Thaman*, which (Vol. III. p. 10.) he says, signified *eight*, in the ancient language of the country round Mount *Ararat*, where the ark is supposed to have rested, is merely the Arabic ثمان *thaman*; and *ceman* or *seman* seems to be only that variation of sound, given by the Persians and other nations to the initial Arabic *t'h*, which they cannot pronounce: this renders it quite unnecessary, therefore, to alter *Cemainum* or *Shemainum*, as he proposes in the following page.—There appears in many countries an antipathy to *t'h* or *th*. As I have observed before (p. 13.) most nations in Europe avoid the sound. Even the English, with whom it may be called a kind of *Shibboleth*, have in later times almost universally received *has, loves*, and other third persons, in place of *hath* and *loveth*: whilst many speakers pronounce *authority*, and similar words, *autority, &c.*—There seems to be a mistaken conjecture (p. 12.) relative to the city of *Tabriz* or *Tauris* (the capital of the country called *Adherbijan* or *Azerbijan*, part of the *Armenia* and *Media* of the Greeks), which, he says, is named likewise *Albors* or *Albaris*. This he imagines to be a contraction of *Tabaris* or *Tavaris*; but the first is apparently Arabic, the other Persian: برس

and *برص* *bors* in Arabic have a great variety of meanings; the last, *inter alia*, signifying *leprous*; and, with the Arabic article prefixed, *البرص* implies *The moon*, from the spotted appearance of her disk. *تبريز* or *تابريز* *Tabriz* is the name by which this place is generally known; and is conjectured to have been given on account of that healthiness of situation, for which it has been much remarked; the first word implying *dispersing a fever*, or *resisting an infection*: tho' it is not impossible, as this country was anciently famous for the adoration of fire, that the name should have an allusion to that circumstance; for *تابريز* may be interpreted *Scattering heat, diffusing splendor, &c.* *كوه البرس* *albors kuh* (The mountain *Albors*) is celebrated by Firdousi: and it is mentioned, by Ali Yezdi, l. 3. c. 57. of his life of Tamerlane; but that is apparently further to the northward, and not the place here referred to.

The difficulty, if unacquainted with the languages, of discovering the analogy of Eastern words by the eye or the ear, will evidently appear from a few examples. *ارز* (*Arz, arez, &c.*) in Arabic, signifies *A pine*, or any *cone-bearing tree*; *a chief*; *robust*; *cold*; &c.; (in Persian) *Price, value, quantity esteem, honour.* *ارض* (*arz, arez, or aredh Arab.*) signifies the *Earth*; *عرض* (*arz, &c.*) *A present*; *an accident*; *desire*; *plunder*; *an army*; *merchandise, &c.* — *عرس* (*aris*) *Astonished*; *a spouse*; *wedlock.* — *عرص* (*aris*) *Cheerful.* — *ارش* (*arish*) *A quarrel, a mulct for manslaughter.* *عرش* (*arish*) *A throne.* — *بتل* (*betel*) *Cutting, separating.* — *بطل* (*betel*) *A champion*; *heroic*; *with numbers*

of others which might be easily adduced.—Whilst مصطفى (*Mustafa*) *Excellent, selected*, is derived from the root صفي (*sefi*) of the same signification.)—محمد (*Mohammed*) *Deserving great praise*; احمد (*Ahmed*) *More praise-worthy*. ممدوح (*Mumeddeh*) or ممدوح (*Memdub*) *Praised, celebrated*; and ممدوحات (*Memdubat*) *Celebrated things*, are all brought from حمد *hemd Praise*.—انصار (*ansar*) *Defenders* (i. e. The citizens of Medina, who supported Mahomet). المنصور (*Almansor*) *Assisted, defended, celebrated for victories, august*. مستنصر (*Mostanser*) *Imploring or receiving assistance* (names of two Khalifs) come from the radical نصر (*nefr*) *Victory, defence, assistance*.

Since writing the above, I have seen a Review of Mr. Bryant's *Mythology*, printed at Amsterdam: in which the authors appear to have expressed themselves with an indecent petulance, which, for the honour of learning, it were to be wished might never accompany a difference of opinion. If they turn to his Preface, to the first volume of the *Mythology*, p. xiv. they will read “The mistakes of the Greeks in respect to ancient
“ terms, which they strangely perverted, will be exhibi-
“ ted in many instances: and much true history will be
“ ascertained from a detection of this peculiar misapplica-
“ tion.” Many other passages clearly explain his plan: and one of his chief objects is thence to develop ancient mythology from the obscurity in which the Greeks had involved it, by corrupting the channels of derivation. He endeavours to penetrate therefore to the fountain head of language, of which he considers the Greek to be only a remote stream. His ideas, on this ground, are judicious;

and he wanted only a knowledge of Eastern learning, to have made many curious and interesting discoveries. With what propriety then can those gentlemen triumph, and question Mr. Bryant's knowledge of the Greek, when he professedly goes to a higher origin for his Etymologies? Where is the justice of the following among many similar criticisms, "Αφ' ἧτος Apollo falso fit ex *Apha*, ignis, " et *tor* turris; cum secundum certissimas linguæ rationes ab *αφ' ἧτος* oriatur? Where is the decency of " Cum " ubique in Bryantio temeritatis novitatem miraremur, " excogitare tamen non potuimus quis eum stupor tenuerit, cum hæc scriberet?" (p. 68.)

P. 138. ^b See I. Dissertation prefixed to History of English Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Warton. — See also The History of the Decline of the Roman Empire, by Edw. Gibbon, Esq. p. 246. — Abbé Raynal, Histoire Philosophique et Politique, Tom. II. p. 142. — Gov. Pownall Archeologia of Society of Antiquaries, Vol. II. p. 264. — Wise on the first Inhabitants, Language, &c. of Europe, p. 84.

P. 141. ^c Olaus Wormius Liter. Runic, cap. 20. Bartholin Antiq. Daniæ, lib. ii. cap. 8. lib. iii. cap. 2. Lazius de Gent. migrat. l. x. fol. 573. and 1600. — Olaus Rudbeck, cap. v. sect. 2. Arngrim. Crymogæa, Jon. lib. i. cap. 4. Mallet Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc, tom. ii. p. 9, &c. The Venerable Bede. And Johann. Ihre, Glossarium Suiogothicum, voce Oden, &c.

See Pref. to Alfred's Saxon Orosius.

P. 143. ^d Mallet. Hist. Dannem. c. ii. — Preface to Alfred's Saxon Orosius, by Spelman. Vit. Alfredi Spelm. Append. vi.

P. 147. ^{e f} Among the *Tartar*, or more properly *Tatar*

nations, who, with some similar features, have, at the same time, in many points, a diversity of character, are the *Moguls*, *Calmaks* or *Aluths*, the *Atracks* or *Turks*, the *Turkmans*, the *Usbecs*, the *Canghelis* or *Kanklis*, *Gazelaks*, *Tamgages*, *Kipchaks*, *Crimis*, *Sartes*, the inhabitants of *Bokhara*, *Khata* or *Khoten*, *Toncat* or *Tangut*, and *Thibet*, the *Telanguts*, *Tumats*, *Virats*, *Cataguns*, &c.

P. 148. * Les Arabes et les Tartares sont des peuples pasteurs. Les Arabes se trouvent dans les cas generaux dont nous avons parlé, et sont libres; au lieu que les Tartares (peuple le plus singulier de la terre) se trouvent dans l'esclavage politique. — Ils n'ont point de villes, ils n'ont point de forêts, ils ont peu de marais, leurs rivières sont presque toujours glacées, ils habitent une immense plaine, &c. *L'Esprit des loix*, Liv. xviii. ch. 19.

P. 150. * See Sir W. Blackstone's Commentaries, Book ii. ch. iv. *L'Esprit des Loix*, lib. xxx. ch. i. Dr. Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 15. 255. et seq. Millar on the Distinction of Ranks in Society, ch. iv. Voltaire *Essai sur l'Histoire Generale*, ch. xxiii. Sir John Dalrymple's *Feudal System*. Spelman on Feuds. Wright on Tenures. Gravina Orig. lib. i. §. 139. Crag. Du Cange, voce Feudum, &c.

P. 152. ^b c A *fief* in Persian is called بلوک *Beluk*, being described as a tract of country which a subject obtains by gift from the prince, by purchase, or by succession; and holds for military service. سپورغال *Siyurghal*, signifies also a *feudal tenure*. A *feudatory chief* or *military tenant* is called سپاهی — In Arabic اخذة *akbezet* and قطبة *ketiat* are generally understood as *fiefs*: the first implying The receiving of lands from a chief; and the other expressing

The cutting off a certain district from a greater, and giving it to a subject on certain conditions. As these words may however refer also to *copyholds* or *farms*, nothing conclusive can be drawn from them alone. *زعامة* *Ziyamet* in Arabic denotes also A *fief* bestowed for *military services*; and *زعيم* *zaym* from the same root A *feudal chief*, or *military tenant*. *نفير عام* *nefiri amm* implies A general summons of nobles to take the field with their military vassals.—*لقاح* *lekah* A masculine or noble tribe; one that was never conquered, nor acknowledged a feudal dependence on kings. — *زمین بوس* *zemin bous* (Kissing the earth) was a kind of homage which the old kings of Persia imposed upon their feudatory princes. They called it likewise *روي زمین* *rui zemin* (Face on the ground). They had also the ceremony of *پابوس* *pabous* (kissing the feet); which word the Spaniards have adopted, when they write to men of the first quality. The Khalifs, along with the *القاب* *alcab* or titles, used generally to send to their feudatory princes a Banner, which, whilst they preserved their allegiance, was always carried before them. It was thus that the Khalif Wathek invested Thaher ben Abdallah, about the year 873, in the principality of Khorassan. Amongst other marks of homage among the Mohammedan princes, the name of the paramount sovereign was always mentioned first in public prayers: vassals had not the *سرپرده* *seraperdé* or fourth curtain at the door of the hall of audience; and the trumpet was not sounded when they went out, or returned to the palace. See Dictionary under the words mentioned above: also D'Herbelot 508. 756. 927. 1018.

P. 156. ^d See Dictionary ګاو *Gao*, فریدون *Feridun*, رستم *Rostam*, افراسیاب *Afrasiab*, اسفندیار *Asfendiar*, سکندر *Sikender*. See also *Khondemir*, *Tarikh montekheb*, *Shah namé*, &c.

P. 158. ^e See Pocock Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 65, 66. 74. Novairi's Hist. of the Hemyaret Kings, &c.

تاریخ المسلمین *Tarikhu'l Moslemin*, or the History of the Saracens, p. 135. D'Herbelot, p. 1017.

P. 160. ^f See *Khondemir*, Sherfeddin Ali Yezdi's Life of Tamerlane; Abul Pharaje Dyn. 10. D'Herbelot passim, &c.

P. 162. ^g The number nine has been long in great veneration among the Tartars. All presents made to their princes consist, in general, of nine of each article. At all their feasts this number and its combinations are always attended to in their dishes of meat, and in their skins of wine or other liquors. At one entertainment, mentioned by the Tartar king Abulgazi Khan, there were 9000 sheep, 900 horses and 99 vessels of brandy, &c. Even the roving Tartars rob the caravans by this rule; and will rather take nine of any thing than a greater number. Abulgazi Khan, in the preface to his history, says, "I have divided it into nine parts, to conform myself to the custom of other writers, who all have this number in particular esteem." It appears to have been likewise a favourite mysterious number amongst the Goths. We are told, that every nine years there was a solemn festival, when nine animals of every species were sacrificed to their gods. Oden, they say, resolving to die as a warrior before the approach of age and infirmity, called a general assembly of the Goths, and wounded himself in nine

mortal places. See Adam of Bremen in Grotii Prolegomenis, p. 104. Mallet, Introduction à l'Histoire de Danemarck. — The resemblance of the Tartar and European diets seems to have struck Voltaire. “ Il paraît
 “ que les Kans Tartares etaient en usage d'assembler des
 “ Diètes vers le Printems : ces Diètes s'apelaient *Courilté*.
 “ Eh ! qui fait si ces assemblées et nos Cours Plenieres,
 “ au mois de Mars et de Mai, n'ont pas une origine commune ? *Essai sur l'Histoire Generale*, ch. xlviii.” — Abul Pharaje, p. 466. calls this Great Council *قربلتاي Kuriltai* or *قربلتاي Kariltai*. Ali Yezdi, in his life of Tamerlane, writes it *قورولتاي kurultai*. See a magnificent description of one, chap. 3. In the Khorasmian dialect it is *قورلتان kuriltan*.

P. 163. ^h Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. II. p. 83.

P. 166. ^a Sadi, a Persian moral writer of the first class, in the preface to his *Bostan*, making an eulogium on Providence, says, with much seriousness, That Omnipotence had provided so liberally for the nourishment of all his creatures, that even the Simurgh finds on the mountain of Kaf sufficient for her sustenance, notwithstanding her immeasurable size. See Dict. *سپهرغ Simurgh*, *عنقا Anka*, and *قاف Kaf*.

P. 169. ^b In many parts of the East, they strongly perfume the bodies of the dead, that the demons may not approach them. — See Dict. *سليمان Soliman* ; *دېو Dive* ; *پري Peri* ; *باديات الجن badyatu'l'jinn* ; *شادوكام Shadukam* ; *جان بن جان Jan ben Jan*. Angelo says, that the Sabians make the creation 370,340 years before the Christian era, See *Gazophylacium Ling. Pers.* p. 361. — *حارس Hares*

signifies, a Guardian, governor, or protector; but on his fall his name was changed to *ابا Iba* The refractory; *ابليس Eblis* The desperate; and *شیطان Sheitan* The proud.—Many of the ideas relative to *Kaf* are even adopted in the Alcoran: they were the general belief in the days of Mohammed; and it was not till geography became better understood, in the East, that they discovered the several divisions of *Kaf* to be *Caucasus*, *Imaus*, *Atlas*, and other mountains in Asia and Africa.—The *Peris* are by some writers supposed to be all females, and the *Dives* males; but without having any communication; each having the separate power of continuing their species: yet, in the *Tahmuras namé*, we find the brothers of the *Peri Merjan*; and the *Caherman namé* mentions often the kings of *Shadukam*.

P. 172. ° The most famous talismans, which rendered them proof against the arms and magic of the *Dives*, were the *مهر سلیمان mohur Solimani*, or The Seal of *Soliman Jared*, the fifth monarch of the world; which gave to its possessor the command of elements, demons, and of every created thing. The *سپر Siper*, or Buckler of *Jan ben Jan*, more famous in the East than the Shield of *Achilles* among the *Greeks*. The *جبهه jebbeh* or the Impenetrable Cuirass; and the *تبعغ اتش tigh atish*, or the Flaming sword. Among the dreadful creatures of the imagination, which winged the heroes of *Persia* from region to region, were the *Rakshé*, whose ordinary food was serpents and dragons. He had long rendered the Dry Island inaccessible, till subdued by *Housheng*, king of *Persia*, or by his father *Siamek Shah*, who tamed, and mounted him in all their wars with the *Dives*. The *Soham* had the head of a horse with four

eyes, and the body of a flame-coloured dragon : he was conquered by a famous Persian warrior called *Sam Neri-man*. The *Ouranabad* is described as a fierce-flying hydra. The *Ejder*, *ezshder* or *ezshdeha*, are dragons of different kinds. The *Syl* appears to be the Basilisk, having a face somewhat human, the sight of which makes every creature to fly ; the near approach being certain death. See Dictionary *صحاح soham*, *وراناباد ouranabad*, *رکشه rakshé*, *اجدر ejder*, *اژدر ezshder*, *اژدها ezshdeha*, *صل syl*.

The present made by the Simurgh of her feathers to Tahmuras, according to Eastern writers, gave rise to the fashion of plumed helmets. — This prince was surnamed *Beniavend*, Armed at all points ; and *Divebend*, Chainer of Dives. *Merjan* signifies A pearl.

See *Shah namé* *خوان ششم و کشتن رستم ارژنگ دیو* *Khan sheshum, wa kushten Rostam Arzshenk Dive*, The sixth adventure, and the slaughter of the *Dive Arzshenk* by *Rostam*. In the next is his combat with the *دیو سپید Dive sepid* (white Dive). *Firdousi*, who may be called the *Homer of Persia*, employed thirty years in the composition of this work. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1018. See also *Gazophylacium Ling. Pers.* p. 127.

P. 175. ° See Dissertations prefixed to the Rev. Mr. Warton's History of English Poetry ; and Observations on the Faery Queen, p. 63. — In the Persian Romances, we find nations with the heads of fishes, dragons, &c. as *سرماهی ser mahi*, *سرازدها ser ezshdeha*. We have also the *نیم سر nim ser* The half heads, and *دوال پای duwal pai* The leather strap legs. But one of the most singular creatures is the *نیم چهر nim juzé* or *نیم چهر nim chehr* ;

which is supposed to be a human figure split in two; the male being the right half, and the female the left: they have, of consequence, half a face, one eye, one arm, and one foot, on which they run with incredible swiftness; and are imagined to be very dangerous and cruel.—تنين *tennin*, ثعبان *saban*, and other Arabic words used to denote Dragons, are only, radically, Large Serpents. عنقا *Anka* signifies An eagle, length of neck, &c. from the root عنت *ank*, A neck. عفریت *Afrit* A cruel or dangerous man, from the root عفر *yfr*; hence A giant, genie, demon, &c. — غول *Ghul* Any thing terrifying, which suddenly deprives people of their senses. جن *Jenn* A demon, a spirit. This root signifies, *inter alia*, Covering, concealed, interior, dark. عزیف *Azif* A nocturnal sound heard in the desert, which they believed to be the howling of demons. — قطرب *Kutrub* A wolf; also a deep melancholly, which makes people fancy themselves wolves, and run howling to the woods. It is also used to signify the male *Ghul*.—صيدانة *Seidanet* A bad woman, a scold: also the Lamia of the Desert; an imaginary monster with a woman's head. بلوكة *Beluket* A desert: also a place in Arabia, which they believe to be the mouth of hell; and to be inhabited by demons.—See also Dict. جان *jan*, and جنون *jenun*.

P. 176. ^f See Dictionary ماء *mah*.

P. 177. ^h Father Angelo observes, that Magic is an art publicly taught by the Persians and Arabians. He knew a rich enchanter of Bassora, a man much respected; whose scholars were so numerous, that they possessed one entire quarter of the city. At the sound of a certain

drum, accompanied by a kind of chaunt, they became, like demoniacs, suddenly inspired with a real or affected phrenzy; during which they devoured fire publicly in the streets. This is a trick not uncommon with European jugglers. These magicians, by way of distinction, wore their hair very long. See *Gazophylacium Linguae Persarum*, p. 155. Angelo went missionary to the East in 1663. See also Hyde's *Religio Veterum Persarum*, cap. 18 et 19.

P. 180. ⁱ The words expressive of Talismans, Amulets, Fascination, and Spells, are very numerous both in *Persian* and *Arabic*. I shall mention a few. **نشرة** *nushret* An amulet for preventing or curing insanity, or other malady. **قبله** *keblé* A philtre by which necromancers pretend to reconcile enemies. **غزغاو** *ghezshghaw* or **غجغاو** *ghejghaw* Tufts made of the hair of sea-cows, and hung round the necks of horses, to defend them from fascination. **شبارق** *shebarik* A tree of which they make amulets for the same purpose. **عزيمة** *azimet* An amulet, incantation, or spell against serpents, disease, or other evil. **سلوانة** *sulwanet* Shells, rings, or beads used as amulets. **سلوان** *sulwan* denotes, Water poured from a kind of shell, or upon earth taken from the grave of a dead man, which they drink to the health of a person; as a cure for love, or any severe affliction: **عطفة** *atfet* or **عنطفة** *antefet* Small beads hung by women round their necks, as a charm to gain the affections of their lovers. **عقرة** *akret* A spherical amulet, worne by some women round their waists, to prevent pregnancy; and by others to favour a conception. **اخذة** *akhzet* An amulet in form of a knot, which women wear to keep their husbands faithful. **نيرنك** *nirenk*, **نيرك**

nirek, حمائل *hemail*, تعويذ *tawiz*, معقاد *mikad*, متمم *mutemmim*, جبهة *kehal*, كحال *kherez*, خرز *gezz*, غز *wejihet*, رعب *rab*, قرزحلة *kyrzehlet*, معوذ *mawiz*, بریم *berim*, signify amulets, made of shells, beads, tufts of wool or hair, dead mens bones, &c. فرهست *ferhest*, نهجو *neju*, رقي *reki*, شوه *shuh*, لعطة *latet*, نظرة *nezret*, &c. imply Fascination or malignant eyes. خرچاره *khercharé* is An ass's head placed upon a pole in a garden, &c. to guard it against fascination. بازور *bazur* and بازوبند *bazubend* signify amulets or any kind of ligatures used in incantment; either from Bazur the name of a famous magician, or because they are in general fastened round the arm, which the other word implies. چشم بنام *cheshm benam* An amulet for averting the fascination of malignant eyes.

The following account of the discovery of hidden treasure is given by the Vizir Nezam.—A prince, named Emir Ismael, in the beginning of the tenth century, having defeated another chief, called Amrou Leis, who was supposed to be very rich, search was made for his treasure; but in vain. One of Ismael's female slaves accidentally undressing to bathe on the terrafs of the palace, having laid down her girdle, set with large rubies, on a white cloth; a hungry kite observing it, and supposing the red stones to be bits of meat, pounced upon the girdle and carried it off. The damsel instantly gave the alarm to the guard; and a number of horsemen were dispatched to keep the kite in view; who dropt it after a long pursuit, when it fell into a well. A man was immediately let down, who discovered in the side of it a large cavity, where a vast number of chests had been lodged, which proved to

be the very treasure the Emir had been so long in quest of, to the amount of about 4,000,000 l. sterling.—Burying treasure is also common among the Tartars: and sheets of gold, jewels, and rich moveables, are often interred along with the chiefs and their wives. See Abulgazi Khan's history; also Archeologia of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. II. p. 222.

P. 183. ^a The Persians in general calculate the era of Yezdijird from the 16th of June A. D. 632. And the Arabians from the year 651.

P. 186. ^c The ancient Persians durst not, by their religion, extinguish fire with water, but endeavoured to smother it with earth, stones, or any thing similar. This method would not soon extinguish a blazing forest.—The Parfis of Guzerat are still guided by the same hurtful superstition. See Anquetil's Zend Avesta, Vol. II. p. 567.

P. 187. ^d *كوسه نشین* *Koufa nishin* signifies, The beardless old man sitting or mounted. During the time of the Mohammedan Sultans of Persia, this ceremony was called, in Arabic, *ركوب الكوسج*, *rokubu'l'koufej* The procession of *Koufej*, which is synonymous. — D'Herbelot observes, that a burlesque farce, somewhat resembling this, was anciently customary in Italy about the middle of Lent. — September in Persia is named *Mihr*, the angel supposed to superintend the orb of the Sun; and the 16th day of every month is also called *Mihr*: in consequence of which, they imagined, that the horn of an ox (a creature sacred to the Sun) killed on that day, must be impregnated with extraordinary anti-demoniacal virtues.—M. Anquetil says, that the Parfis always carry about them papers so prepared, as a defence against the Dives, and a preservative from

every distemper of body and mind. Zend Avesta, Vol. II. p. 113.

P. 190. ^g رقعء كژدم *nushtei guzshdum* or *rukai guzshdum* Scorpion spells. See also Dict. ماء *mah*.

كبران *merd giran* Taking or commanding men. The author of the *Farhang Jehangiri* makes this festival to have continued during the five last days of this month: but others confine it to the fifth. At different periods, and in different provinces, both customs might have been respectively adopted. See also Hyde's *Religio Veterum Persarum*, cap. 19 and 20.

P. 191. ^h طرق *teryk* Throwing pebble-stones or gravel, to prognosticate future events. عيان *iyaf* Divination from the flight of birds. قاري *kari* is the name of a bird with a long beak, which the Arabians consider as a bird of good omen, which they are always happy to meet. کادس *kades* Any thing taken as an omen, generally in a bad sense; as a deer descending a mountain, or appearing at the beholder's back. شعبد باز *shabid baz* An enchanter; one especially who makes incantations by the help of ashes, vitriol, or any kind of lixivium. ولهان *welhan* A demon, which they pretend to lay, by sprinkling water, and pronouncing exorcisms. هلوان *bul-wan* is an enchanter's fee. See Dictionary مسلة *muselaat* and باد انکیز *bad engiz*. See D'Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 87. also under عمرو *Amru* and عمر *Omr* or *Omar*.

P. 193. ⁱ It is not a hundred years since the conjuration of witches, demons and fairies, was commonly practised and taught in London by Lilly and others. Even the Hon.

Mr. Boyle, (see his works, V. 6. p. 59.) and other men of great learning and sound judgment, in other respects, were strongly impressed with a belief in those supernatural beings, and of the power of spells in commanding their service. In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford are various formularies of invocation and incantations, collected by the very learned and sensible founder; who was strongly tinctured with those prejudices. See Ashmole's Collect. of MSS. N^o 8259. 1406. 2. See also the Lives of John Lilly and Elias Ashmole, Esq. likewise Dr. Percy's Relicks of Ancient English Poetry, Vol. III. p. 213, 214. —Conjurers, witches, and forcerers, are accurately described in our law books. Hawkins (in his Pleas of the Crown) says, "*Conjurers* are those who, by force of certain magic words, endeavour to raise the devil, and oblige him to execute their commands. *Witches* are such who, by way of conference, bargain with an evil spirit to do what they desire of him; and *Sorcerers* are those who, by the use of certain superstitious words, or by the means of images, &c. are said to produce strange effects, above the ordinary course of nature." All which were anciently punished as heretics by sentence of the Ecclesiastical courts, and burnt by the writ *De heretico comburendo*. See Lib. 1. p. 5. By the Common Law, they could only be pilloried. 3 Inst. 44. H. P. C. 38. But by Stat. 1. James I. c. 12. these offenders are divided into two degrees: those of the first degree, with their accessories before the fact, suffering as felons without benefit of clergy. These are of four kinds; "1. Such as shall use any invocation or conjuration of any evil spirit. 2. That consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, or reward any evil spirit, to any intent. 3. As take up any dead per-

“ son’s body, or any part thereof, to be used in any man-
 “ ner of witchcraft. 4. Or that exercise any witchcraft,
 “ enchantment, charm or sorcery, whereby any person
 “ shall be killed, destroyed, consumed, or lamed in his
 “ body or any part thereof.” And tho’ a spirit doth not
 actually appear upon invocation, &c. or tho’ a dead per-
 son, or part of it, be taken up to be used, and not actually
 used ; they are still within the statute.—This law, which
 would disgrace the most stupid of nations in the most bar-
 barous state of ignorance, was not repealed till the 9th
 Geo. II. If we keep such circumstances in view, and
 pay a proper attention to Chronology, when we read, we
 shall not, with any regard to justice, look down with con-
 tempt upon the manners and beliefs of distant times and
 distant countries.

P. 197. ^a Some combats with the Dives have been
 slightly mentioned (p. 170) ; previous to which, great pre-
 parations were made by the heroes to arm themselves with
 spells, as a defence against their enchantments ; accompa-
 nied with ceremonies differing little from those afterwards
 practised by our European knights, when setting out to
 engage with necromancers or giants. See Dict. *اهرمان*—
 A duel in Arabic is called *وقعة الاثنين* *wekyatu’l’esnein*
 The combat of two. —See Dict. *اسفنديار* *Asfendar*. He
 was son to Kishtasb, the fifth king of the Kaianian dynasty,
 and father of Ardeshir Dirazdest, the Artaxerxes Longi-
 manus of the Greeks.—See *Shah namé* for a great variety
 of those single combats ; also the *Housheng namé*, *Iskender*
namé, *Tahmuras namé*, and other Eastern books of Poetry
 and Romance. — See Khondemir ; The *Leb Tarikh*, in
 the Life of Kai Khosrou ; D’Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orient.*
 p. 716 ; and Dict. *دوازده رخ* *Duazdeh rokh* The twelve

heroes. This is a combat precisely similar to that of the Horatii and Curiatii of Rome and Alba.

البطل *Albatal* signifies, The knight. He was also named سيد بطل *Seidi batal* The lord knight. He was killed in the year of the Hejra 121. (A. D. 738.) جعفر *Giaffar al Sadac*, Giaffar the Just, was born at Medina, in the year 83 of the Hejra (A. D. 699.) and died in the year 148 (A. D. 764.) M. D'Herbelot seems to think that those two were the same person: but an attention to their dates, in which the Eastern writers are very particular, does not seem to justify the surmise. This learned Orientalist says, that in the French king's library there is an Arabian manuscript, called *Seirat al mujahedin* (The lives of warriors); in which there is an abridgement of Albatal's life: also that there is another larger work filled with most wonderful feats of arms. Bibl. Orient. p. 193. 399.

P. 198. ^b See *Ben Shunah, Khondemir, D'Herbelot*, p. 371.

P. 199. ^c جریده *jeridé* is a branch of a palm tree stripped of the leaves.—قنا *cana* are canes, the hollow parts of which are filled with some solid body. Of these they generally make the Arabian spears. درية *derit* is a ring, at which they dart a javelin, or endeavour to carry off on the point of a lance. — See also *Historia de las Guerras Civiles de Granada*. — The *Jerid Oiné*, D'Herbelot says, was a common exercise among the Turkish cavaliers in the Atmeidan or Hippodrome at Constantinople. Bibl. Orient. p. 383. — The word *caitiff*, which in times of chivalry was often given by one knight as a term of reproach to another, has been supposed to be derived from the Italian *cattivo* or the Spanish *cautivo*, a captive, &c.

It is possible, however, that it may be only a slight alteration of the Arabian word *خطاف* *khattaf* A ravisher. As one of the great ends of the institution of chivalry was to protect the sex, a violation of this important point was justly marked with every circumstance of infamy. It was chiefly applied to those giants or governors of castles, who made a practice of carrying off and imprisoning the undefended fair: and seems, in consequence, to be much more applicable to them than Captive; which carried along with it no such disgraceful idea. — I have sometimes been also induced to think, that there is some affinity between the word *Knight*, and *نكبت* *Nikbt*, which signifies those who tilt with or throw spears, in order to show strength and dexterity.

P. 200. ^d See Essay on the Poetry of Eastern nations, by W. Jones, Esq; subjoined to the Life of Nadir Shah, 8vo, p. 133. For various specimens of their elegies and other compositions, See *Poeseos Asiaticæ Commentarii*, auctore Guilielmo Jones, 8vo. See also *Supplement à l'Histoire de Nader Chah*, 4to. tom. II. p. 231. et seq. by the same learned and ingenious author. — See Dict. *مدله* *waleh*, *مدله* *mudalleh*, *مهاوس* *muhawwis*, *هائم* *haim*, *شیدا* *shida*, *شفتة* *shufté*, *شريدة* *sheridé*, *الفتة* *alufté*, *عاشق* *ashik*, &c. signifying, Distracted, insane, desperate, furious, frantic, melancholy, mad with love. *مجنون* *Mejnoun* is the surname of one of the most celebrated Eastern lovers, and it implies Furious, frantic, mad, see *لبلي و مجنون* The loves of *Leila and Mejnoun*, by the celebrated Persian poet *Jami*. *غشوا* *ashwa* denotes Blind with the madness of love. *غلق* *uluk* signifies Love and Death. *متيم* *metim* The Captive

of Love; one who submits to slavery or the meanest employment, to have an opportunity of serving or admiring his mistress.

P. 203. * Ockley's Hist. of Saracens, p. 239. &c.

p. 204. † See ch. 24, 25, and other passages of Ali Yezdi's History of Tamerlane, for many grand festivals given by that prince; especially on the marriages of his grandchildren in 1404. The palace which he then built, on a plain called *Kanigul* (the mine of flowers), was a square of 1500 cubits, chiefly of marble, encrusted on the outside of the principal apartments with porcelaine; and in the inside with ivory, ebony, gold, and precious stones. —A trifling observation which occurs in this place shows, that the contempt with which Europeans honour the Tartars and other Eastern people, is perfectly reciprocal — “The European ambassadors were also invited to the great banquet, and partook of the diversions; for even the Kasses (a very minute animal) have their place in the ocean.”

P. 208. ‡ Mahmoud's queen, mentioned in the text, was the daughter of the Khan of Turkestan. جميله *Jemila Khandahari* may be interpreted the *Beauty of Khandahar*. Mahmoud was the Great Sultan of Ghezna, who conquered Hindostan, and many other kingdoms in the East, at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. See p. 31. and Notes to p. 36. of this Dissertation. See also Abulpharaje, p. 429.

Sultan Malekshah, surnamed جلال الدولت و الدين *Jelal eddoulatu eddin* (The glory of the state and of religion), of whom mention has been so often made in this Dissertation, was the third Sultan of the Seljukian dynasty; and great grandson of *Seljuk*, a Turcoman or Tartar

nobleman, who was the founder of the family. The magnificent solemnity mentioned by the Vizir Nezam happened about the year 1076 ; though historians have hitherto fixed it some years earlier, on the coronation of Malek-shah ; but the Vizir's own account is undoubtedly superior authority. See D'Herbelot, p. 544, &c.

P. 210. ^a See *Las Guerras Civiles de Granada*. As it is several years since I saw this book, and now quote from memory, I cannot refer to the particular passages.—Besides the instruments mentioned in the text, the Asiatics have the *Kiran*, the *Mizher*, the *Kanun* or *Kenin*, the *Kemanché*, the *Kenaret*, the *Arteb*, the *Tunbur*, the *Zentur*, the *Kendelash*, and several others, which are different kinds of the lute, harp, dulcimer, psalter, viola d'amore, and other instruments of the stringed species. The *Kunjbad* appears to be the Eolian or wind harp ; the *Tulumbé* is a hydraulic instrument or water-organ ; *Miskal*, a species of organ, or Pan's reed-pipe, of unequal lengths. *Drums* are apparently an Arabian invention, and they have them of many sorts. *Tebl* is a drum, *Teblek* a small drum, tabor, or tambourin ; also one made of two kettles, joined bottom to bottom, and covered with skins. *Ruyim khun*, *Sitam*, *Kubé*, are other kinds of kettle-drums. *Duff*, *Dubdub*, *Tembel*, *Dereb*, *Shendef*, *Shedef*, with many more, are drums, tabors, and other similar instruments. *Kus* is a large royal military drum, generally beat in the palace, or in the camp when the king is present. They have likewise a vast number of wind instruments, especially for war and the chase ; as the *Gawdum*, a trumpet, with which they sound the charge to battle ; the *Buk* or *Buri*, a kind of Clarion, or Cor de chasse. The *Shebir*, the *Nefir*, the *Naker*, the *Kerna* or *Kerennay*, are trumpets of different

kinds : the last was that used by *Tamerlane* ; the sound of which is described as uncommonly dreadful ; and so loud as to be heard at the distance of several miles. The *Nei*, the *Zarna*, the *Keisabes*, the *Shahen*, the *Neidil*, the *Neishé*, the *Kawwal*, and the *Sanai*, are all of the hautboy, pipe, or flute species ; though apparently not so melodious in general as those of Europe.

P. 212. ^b The Arabians and Persians, it may be here observed, have a gamut or musical scale, which they call *Durri mufessel* (Separate pearls) ; whence the old mode of teaching vocal music in Europe, by what is vulgarly called *Sol-fa-ing*, seems to have been borrowed ; their notes being named *A la mi ré* ; *B fa pé mi* ; *C sol fa ut*, &c. See Dictionary *موسيقى* See also *Gazophylacium Linguæ Persarum*, p. 175. D'Herbelot, p. 337.

P. 215. ^a “ O true believer, the law of retaliation is
 “ allowed you for the slain : the free shall die for the free ;
 “ and the servant for the servant ; and a woman for a wo-
 “ man : but he whom his brother shall forgive, may be
 “ prosecuted and obliged to make satisfaction, according
 “ to what is just, and a fine shall be set on him with hu-
 “ manity. This is indulgence from your Lord, and mer-
 “ cy *. — And when the slayer shall be pardoned (in con-
 “ sequence of making satisfaction), he who hereafter shall
 “ transgress (by killing the slayer) shall suffer a most grie-
 “ vous punishment. And in this retaliation ye have life.”
 — In another part he says, “ Whoever shall take a ven-
 “ geance equal to the injury which hath been done ; and
 “ shall be afterwards unjustly treated, verily God will as-
 “ sist him.” See *Alcoran*, chap. ii. iv. and xxii. — M.
 D'Herbelot, after the passage marked above with the as-
 terism *, inserts these words, “ Mais celui qui pardonnera
 “ au meurtrier obtiendra la miséricorde de Dieu, &c.” but

I can discover nothing corresponding to it in this part of the Alcoran. See *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 294.

The *Sonna* is a collection of the sayings of Mohammed, or the traditions of his widows and companions. By the Turks and other followers of the sect of Omar, they are considered with a respect little inferior to the Alcoran; but they are rejected by the Persians and the other adherents of Ali. See Dictionary سنه *sonna* and دية *diyet*.

The *Fredum* was a late introduction into the ancient European Code; being unknown in the older capitularies; and seems to have been intended by the magistrate as an additional check to private revenge. It was a sum paid by a criminal to the king, or to his feudal superior, for protection against the relations of the deceased, after they had accepted a composition. It was in general equal to a third part of this composition; but varied often, in proportion to the difficulty of protecting the person who had committed the violence. See *Montesquieu de l'Esprit des Loix*, liv. 30. ch. xx. Robertson's *Cha. V.* vol. i. p. 361.

قصاص *kefas*; قود *karwed*; اباة *ibaat*; بوا *bawa*; ثار *muktyfs*; مقتص *tar*; تاون *tawan*; پاداش *padash*; *far*—signify, The Law of Retaliation, or punishment by that law; killing one for the murder of another. اقصاص *ikfas* and امثال *imsal*, are nearly synonymous; but more strictly denote, Eye for eye, limb for limb, &c. ظلف *zelif* Shedding much blood with impunity. بضرا مضرا *byzran myzran* Blood shed unrevenged. هدر *hedir* Permitting blood to be shed unrevenged: this word also implies, a worthless fellow. موتور *mawtur*, ياتارة *yatarat* One who does not revenge the death of his friend (from cowardice or other base motive). متدي *muttedi* Receiving money, &c. as an expiation for murder. غوز *ghur* Expiating murder

by a mulct. *ارش* *ersh*, *اشناق* *ashnak* Fines for the shedding of blood.

The first month *Muharrem*, the seventh *Rejeb*, the eleventh *Dhulkaadé*, and the twelfth *Dhulhajjé*, were esteemed sacred in Arabia from the oldest times: and, excepting by one or two tribes, were so religiously observed, that if a man met during that time the murderer of his father, he durst not offer him any violence. The history or traditions of the old Arabs do not mention above six transgressions of this law; and these are stiled Impious wars. As three of those sacred months, however, followed close together, they used sometimes to dispense with the observation of *Muharrem*; keeping the next month (*Sefer*) sacred in its room. Mahomet adopted these observances; with an exception to the mode of transferring a month; which he declared to be a profane innovation: but he gave his followers permission to attack at all times Infidels, or those who did not pay a proper regard to the institution. See Prelim. Disc. to Sale's Alcoran, p. 196.

Battles fought during the sacred months were called *افجرة* *afjeret*; from *فجار* *fejar* Wickedness.

The *Treuga Dei* or *Truce of God*, was adopted about the year 1032, in consequence of a pretended revelation of a bishop of Aquitaine. It was published in the time of a general calamity; and it made so deep an impression on the minds of men, that a general cessation of private hostilities was observed, we are told, for seven years; and a resolution formed, that no man should, in time to come, molest his adversary from Thursday evening till Monday morning. The *Pax Regis* or *Royal Truce* was an ordinance of Lewis VIII. King of France, A. D. 1245; by which the friends or vassals of a murdered or injured person were prohibited from commencing hostilities till

forty days after the commission of the offence. Dr. Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 336-8.

P. 217. ^b Ockley's Hist. Arab. p. 148.

P. 218. ^c See Abulgazi Khan's Hist. Tatar. Part 9. c. 3.

P. 220. ^a See D'Herbelot, p. 7, 333. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 38, &c. Code of Gentoo Laws, p. 88. See also Dictionary *مکرز* *mekerz* : *هاع* *haa* : *لوع* *lua* : *لوم* *lum* :

ناکس *nakes* : *هجرس* *hejeres* : *لامان* *laman* : *لپیم* *leim* : *وزغ* *wezegh* : which signify A miser ; avaricious ; covetousness, cowardice, baseness, worthlessness, and every villainous property of man. *نان و نمک خایینی* *nanu nemek khayini* A bread and salt traitor ; he who betrays his patron, master, host, or benefactor.

P. 221. ^a See the *Shah namé*, under the title of *گذشتن* *guzeshteni* *سیاوخس از کوه آتش* *Siavekhs az kuhi atish* The passing of *Siavekhs* through the flaming pile. See also Preface to Code of Gentoo Laws, p. lviii, &c.

P. 223. ^a D'Herbelot, p. 688.

P. 225. ^b ^c *اتو* *atu*, *برطیل* *bertil*, *رشو* *reshu* Bribing a judge or great man, to obtain any thing contrary to justice. *براکنده* *berakendeh*, *یاذه* *yazé*, *یاده* *yadé*, *رشوت* *reshwet*, *بدکند* *badkund*, *باره* *baré*, *ارش* *ersh* A bribe to corrupt a judge. *رایش* *raish* A broker employed to bribe a judge. *مدلی* *mudli* Offering money to a judge, in order to corrupt him. *نظاره* *nezaret* denotes the technical language of the Arabian lawyers. *محاش* *mehash* Different tribes of Pagan Arabians assembling round a fire ; customary when they entered into treaties. *هولة* *hawlet* A sacred fire, over which witnesses used to swear.

P. 226. ^d *نگارستان* *nigaristan* The gallery of pictures : a work somewhat resembling the Gulistan ; being an agreeable miscellany in prose and verse. The anecdotes in it are in general considered as founded on real history.

P A R T II.

C H A P T E R I.

S E C T. I.

Supplemental observations on the Greek Historians. Their general merit acknowledged. Their inaccuracies complained of by their greatest admirers. Singular disagreement of chronologers and commentators. Further strictures upon the expedition of Xerxes. Grounds upon which Asiatic authors might consider the Greeks as tributary or dependent upon the Persian empire. Observations on Mr. Bryant's animadversions on this head.

I N the preceding sheets, I have ventured to question the authority of the writers of Greece; chiefly with regard to Eastern subjects: and have not, I am afraid, expressed myself, on some points, with clearness sufficient to be rightly understood. For although I have proposed doubts of some facts, I would

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not be thought to question all. What I have merely given as the relations of Asiatic writers, I would not be supposed implicitly to adopt. And whilst my purpose has been simply to submit to the attention of future historians the incongruities of Western and Eastern authors, I would not be understood to give a preference, where I have only meant an impartial investigation.^a

THE animadversions on this subject, which I have had any opportunity of learning, have turned principally — Upon the general credit to which the Greeks are intitled, from their antiquity — Upon the expedition of Xerxes — And upon the idea of the Grecians being tributary or subject to the Persian kings.^b

To these points I shall beg leave to speak: and flatter myself, whatever difference of opinion may be entertained on subjects so remote, and so full of uncertainty, that no man of candour will greatly condemn me, for endeavouring to explain or to support my former positions. I again declare, that I cannot have the least partiality for one single circumstance, which, on the balance of fair argument, may appear to be wrong: for whilst I see no necessity in the belief of any historical absurdity, I can see as little propriety

in refusing my assent to whatever has solid pretensions to truth or probability. °

THAT Europe is much indebted to the Grecian writers, every man of reason will be forward to acknowledge. They unquestionably did a great deal: but could they do all? Was nothing to be left to other nations, and to other times? Like a fine lustre in a large hall, they might diffuse their rays a great way around: but could they illuminate all the extremities; could they throw light into every dark recess? In places and in times too remote for the observation of the European Ancients, can it be too great a stretch of fancy to suppose, that native writers of distant countries might, possibly, furnish some feeble lights, to guide us through obscurities; which, after all, we ought rather to regret than to wonder at? For, when we consider the infinite disadvantages under which, in those early times, a writer must have struggled: when we consider the comparative difficulty of intercourse and information: when we consider the facility of imposition, to which a vivacity of imagination is naturally exposed: with the numberless fictions and prejudices, to which misconception or superstition had given a currency: we shall be less surprized,

take them for all in all, that they had some failings, than that they had so few. *

THAT the Greeks, however, with all their beauty of composition, are in various lights inconsistent, is no discovery of mine. Even the ancients, as well as their greatest advocates among the moderns, have dwelt upon their faults. *Velificatus Athos, et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia*, was sung by Juvenal many years ago. The judicious Quinctilian thought he passed not too keen a censure, when he wrote, *Græcis historicis plerumque poeticæ similem esse licentiam*. Pliny, at the expence of every preceding historian, says, *Diodorum primum Græcorum desisse nugari*: whilst Ludovicus Vives declares, *Nihil Diodoro esse nugacius*. *

CAN any thing be more severe than the strictures of Strabo? “ Though they (the
“ early Greek historians) have pretended to
“ give a history of Cyrus, and his particular
“ wars with those who were called Messa-
“ getæ; yet nothing precise and satisfactory
“ could ever be obtained; not even in respect
“ to the war. There is the same uncertainty
“ with regard to the ancient history of the Per-
“ sians; as well as that of the Medes and Sy-
“ rians: we can meet with little that can be
“ deemed authentic, on account of the weak-

“ness of those who wrote, and their uniform
 “love of fable. For finding that writers
 “who professedly deal in fiction without any
 “pretensions to the truth were regarded;
 “they thought that they should make their
 “writings equally acceptable, if in the system
 “of their history they were to introduce cir-
 “cumstances, which they had neither seen
 “nor heard, nor received upon the authority
 “of another person; proceeding merely upon
 “this principle, that they should be most
 “likely to please people’s fancy, by having
 “recourse to what was marvellous and new.
 “On this account we may more safely trust
 “to Hesiod and Homer, when they present
 “us with a list of demigods and heroes, and
 “even to the tragic poets, than to Ctesias,
 “Herodotus, Hellanicus, and writers of that
 “class. Even the generality of historians,
 “who write about Alexander are not safely
 “to be trusted: for they speak with great
 “confidence, relying upon the glory of the
 “monarch whom they celebrate, and the
 “remoteness of the countries in which he
 “was engaged; even at the extremities of
 “Asia; at a great distance from us and our
 “concerns. This renders them very secure.
 “For what is referred to a distance is dif-
 “ficult to be confuted.” (lib. 11. p. 774.)—

In another place, Strabo goes on in the same strain : “ The writers who must necessarily be appealed to, were in continual opposition, and contradicted one another. And how could it be otherwise ? for if they erred so shamefully when they had ocular proof, how could they speak with certainty, where they were led by hearsay ? ” (lib. 15. p. 1006.)

BUT who has been more eloquent than Mr. Bryant upon the foibles of the Greeks ? Who has treated, with a greater fluency of censure, their vanity, their inconsistency, and their fiction ? And yet no man, who has read his works, will, I hope, suspect him of a wish to degrade them unjustly. “ The Grecians, says this learned gentleman, were grossly ignorant in respect to foreign events.” (Mythology Vol. I. p. 100.)—“ They were a bigoted people, highly prejudiced in their own favour ; and so devoted to idle tradition, that no arguments could wean them from their folly.” (Vol. I. p. 143.)—“ The native Helladians were very limited in their knowledge. They had taken in the gross whatever was handed down by tradition, and assumed to themselves every history which was imported. They moreover held every nation but their own as barbarous ;

“ so that their insuperable vanity rendered
 “ it impossible for them to make any great
 “ advances in historical knowledge.” (Vol. I.
 p. 145.) — “ They were under violent pre-
 “ judices, and the subject matter of which
 “ they treated, was in general so brief and li-
 “ mited, that very little could be obtained
 “ from it towards the history of other coun-
 “ tries, or a knowledge of ancient times.
 “ Even in respect to their own affairs, what-
 “ ever light had been derived to them was so
 “ perverted, and came through so dim a me-
 “ dium, that it is difficult to make use of it
 “ to any determinate and salutary purpose.
 “ Yet the beauty of their composition has been
 “ attended with wonderful influence. Many
 “ have been so far captivated by this magic
 “ as to give an implicit credence to all that
 “ has been transmitted; and to sacrifice their
 “ judgment to the pleasures of the fancy.”
 (Vol. I. p. 146.) — “ No people had a greater
 “ love for science; nor displayed a more re-
 “ fined taste in composition. Their study
 “ was ever to please, and to raise admiration.
 “ Hence they always aimed at the marvellous;
 “ which they dressed up in the most winning
 “ manner: at the same time they betrayed a
 “ seeming veneration for antiquity. But their
 “ judgment was perverted; and this venera-

“tion attended with little regard for the
“truth.” (Vol. I. p. 153.)—“There surely
“never was any nation so incurious and indif-
“ferent about truth. Hence have arisen those
“contradictions and inconsistencies with which
“their history is embarrassed.” (Vol. I. p. 155.)
—“In respect to foreign history and geogra-
“phical knowledge, the Greeks in general
“were very ignorant.” (Vol. I. p. 158.)—
“Thus have the Greeks by their affectation
“continually ruined history: and the reader
“may judge how difficult it is to see the truth
“through the mist with which it is environ-
“ed.” (Vol. II. p. 203)—Can it be neces-
sary to add more? ^z

AFTER such a weight of evidence, is there
great presumption in supposing, amidst so
much error, some amendment possible? Can
there be any impropriety in the enquiry, how
far the records and the historians of a people
might, in respect to their own annals, correct
the mistakes and the fictions of strangers?
Or, can there be much harm, in directing, if
possible, the attention of ingenious and learned
travellers to the discovery of such ancient
Eastern materials, as might tend either to au-
thenticate, or to confute, the Eastern Histo-
rians of more modern times? ^h

How slender indeed were the best pretensions of the Greeks to any real knowledge of the history, language, or manners of ancient Persia? Xenophon and Ctesias were amongst the few who could have even an opportunity of consulting authentic records. Yet, by a singular fatality, there are not two productions of antiquity more questioned, than the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and the *Annals* of Ctesias.¹

XENOPHON was in no place where archives could apparently be kept. He was in none of the capitals of the Persian empire; and we cannot, I think, look for any in Asia Minor: whilst, in the course of his famous expedition, he was in such a perpetual hurry of march and action; that he could have but little leisure to study any thing in a language and character, which in all probability he hardly knew.—Whatever he learnt, therefore, could be only oral fragments; the deficiencies of which he seems liberally to have supplied from his own imagination. And that this was the idea, even of the ancients, we may learn from Plato and from Cicero; who have considered the Institutions of Cyrus not as a history founded on truth, but merely as Xenophon's ideas of a just prince, and of an excellent government.²

CTESIAS, we are informed, was a physi-

cian ; and resided many years at the court of that prince, called by the Greeks Artaxerxes Mnemon. Here, it is said, he had access to the royal records. But how much has this been questioned ? Even so early as Strabo, we find his annals considered as mere legends. They are in opposition to almost every other writer : and with the Bible, they have little discernible affinity. Dr. Jackson, it may be observed, indeed, has made an attempt to find out one. Thonus Concolerus, the 36th King of the Ctesian catalogue, he says, is the same as the Senacherib of Scripture : but how ? In order to adjust the chronology, the Doctor finds it necessary to suppose four of Ctesias's Median kings, to have been Assyrian Prefects ; and brings Thonus Concolerus 111 years nearer to the Christian era, than Ctesias had placed him : so very distant is this fanciful resemblance between the actions, the eras, and the names of those princes, whom the learned gentleman wishes to consider as the same person. Such methods of clearing up anachronisms, and reconciling Sacred with Prophane History, may appear wonderful to a plain man : but these operations of chronologers occur so often, that our surprize, if we read them with attention, has hardly time to fix upon one object, till it is called off to another and an-

other ; and all equally difficult to be accounted for, on the simple principles of common sense alone. ¹

BUT it is not my intention to dwell on such subjects : the mere discovery of error is a painful pursuit. Volumes might indeed be filled with the inconsistencies of the Greeks : but many more with the contradictions of later writers. For notwithstanding the sentiments of Plato and Cicero, the *Cyropædia* has been followed, as an authentic history, by Africanus, Josephus, Eusebius, Usher, Prideaux. And the authors of the *Universal History* consider its authority as far preferable to that of Herodotus. Scaliger, Erasmus, and many others, look upon it, on the contrary, as a mere collection of figments : and Dr. Jackson, declaring it to be more feigned than real, says, that it has misled every writer who has attempted to follow it. The Doctor at the same time stiles Herodotus the most accurate and faithful Historian : and considers Ctesias in a very different light from the learned in general. To Ctesias, on the other hand, Sir Isaac Newton pays small regard : but to Herodotus, notwithstanding the anathema of Strabo, he looks up with high respect. He calls him, after Cicero, the *Father of History*, and endeavours to reconcile

with him every point of early chronology.— It must, I think, be unnecessary to proceed.—When such men differ, who can decide? And from whence, let me again ask, can all this contradiction originate? Could Josephus, Eusebius, Syncellus, Scaliger, Petavius, Vossius, Usher, Prideaux, Newton, Jackson, (men of such uncommon learning, industry, and discernment) possibly find themselves so often and so remarkably in opposition, were there not somewhere a radical error? Indeed we may conclude, with Vossius, *Ubi tanta est contentio, ibi vel nullam vel incertam esse veritatem*. Such men, could truth have been discovered, must undoubtedly have found her: but, disguised as she has been by fiction; perplexity, by their endeavours, seems only to have become more perplexed. One frames a system. Another beats it down. He builds again; and a third demolishes. All appeal to their favourite authors: all are decisive and peremptory. *Ipsi et se invicem et se ipsos misere lancinant et refutant*. All is confusion: and we may say indeed, That Gods meet Gods and juggle in the dark. ^m

BUT no subject has afforded a more extensive field for dissension than the Babylonish, Assyrian, Median, and Persian dynasties: and here the systematic knife has

been used with much address. When chronologers meet with kings which puzzle them, without ceremony they cut them off; or perhaps they turn them upside down: they fashion Assyrians into Babylonians, Persians into Medes: and, whilst they find here a hundred years too much, and there a hundred years too little, they dispute with keenness a few months in a prince's reign; who, in all probability, never reigned at all. Yet, were no other history to be perplexed with them, this might be harmless, perhaps amusing. But how much learning has been most zealously misplaced, to injure the Sacred Writings, by improper references and illustrations? By a singular impropriety, learned men have supposed errors, where they should have supposed none: and they have gone upon authorities, which alone, from their uncertainty, ought to have been suspected. So completely disguised, or perhaps so completely imaginary, indeed, are those Græco-Asiatic dynasties, if they may be so named, that I firmly believe there will hardly be found one instance, where they have been appealed to, in support of Scripture, in which some obvious inconsistency may not be discovered. Without searching for one, I have seen many: but I shall at present confine myself to one example, which

I found, by chance, in Dr. Jackson ; an author of the highest reputation for chronological learning. It is upon a point too of much importance, The prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks : and it greatly hurts his hypothesis. " The famous prophecy, says the " Doctor, of Daniel's Seventy Weeks, or " 490 years, to the baptism and preaching " of the Messiah, (Dan. ch. ix. 24.) commenced in the reign of Xerxes, as Josephus assures us, and in the *twentieth year* " of his reign, as we are told in *Nehemiah*, " ch. ii. 1. so it commenced in the year before Christ 464. Christ was baptized, and " began to preach his Gospel, A. D. 28. in " the 15th year of Tiberius Cæsar. Now " 463 years before the vulgar era of Christ, " and twenty-seven years after it, make exactly 490 years complete : and it was in " the 491st year after the twentieth of " Xerxes, when Christ was baptized, and " entered upon his prophetic office. Christ " was then thirty years of age ; and therefore was born two years at least before the " vulgar Christian era." "

Now what possible concern, in strict propriety, could the great object of the Messiah have to do with the reign of a Persian king ? Or could any thing vindicate a reference to

it, but some strong and pointed light, which it might throw upon the subject? But on the contrary, this defeats the very purpose: it is weighed in the balance and found wanting. That Xerxes could not possibly be the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah is evident not merely from a disagreement in name; for upon that alone it is unsafe to build; but from the different terms of their reigns. Xerxes, in the very section where this is introduced, the Doctor has been at much pains to prove, reigned just *twenty years and five months*; but Artaxerxes reigned at least *thirty-two* years, as we may read in Nehemiah, ch. v. 14. “Moreover, from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the *twentieth* year even unto the *two and thirtieth* year of Artaxerxes the king, that is, twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor.” Vossius indeed may have helped to mislead Dr. Jackson in this idea; for he too calls *Artaxerxes* in Nehemiah *Xerxes*: but they are evidently in the wrong. In name, in era, and in extent of reign, these two kings are clearly different: and to reconcile those incoherencies there appears to be only two ways. Xerxes’s reign must either be lengthened to a period which will unhinge at once

Greek chronology ; or the Bible must be new modelled into a consistency with it. This indeed has been too often attempted : but in vain. They are heterogeneous bodies, and never can incorporate. °

How far, on the other hand, Eastern Historians might be found to coincide in general with Scripture, as I have already hinted, seems by no means impossible : but it is a consideration of too much importance to be slightly decided. It would require more reading and more reflexion, than my present pursuits will allow : or my abilities or inclination can ever permit me to attempt. One opinion however I will not hesitate to give : They cannot well occasion more confusion than the learned have already created, by adhering, in their commentaries, to the chronology and narrative of the Greeks. Should the present Persian historians ever be examined with care ; could they be authenticated by means of earlier writers ; and connected with the ancient royal records of Persia ; I think, it is by no means improbable, that we may discover the Persian empire to have been, in very early ages, of great extent : and that those imaginary dynasties of Babylonish, Assyrian, and Median kings, which have so much confounded our chronogers, were, like those of more authentic times,

only governors or feudatory princes under the kings of Persia. These might be more fixed or more fluctuating, according to the will of the paramount, or the conduct of the vassal. Different provinces would generally have different governors: but a son, a brother, or a royal favourite might, at times, have many. The king might sometimes permit governments to be hereditary: sometimes make them move in quicker succession. We find often, in the Greek lists, many of those princes crowded into the compass of a few years: and this might arise from the policy or caprice of the Sovereign, who might remove or dispatch his governors, as prudence or jealousy dictated. These governors, whether feudatory or temporary, might often fall into arrears of tribute; they might become intoxicated with power; and they might rebel. The governor of Media, or of Assyria, for example, might be sent to chastise the viceroy of Babylonia; and, as a reward for his services, he might have the province, which he had reduced to obedience, annexed to his own. ^P

Now such arrangements, to distant observers, might easily give the appearance of the termination of one dynasty; of the commencement of another; of interregnums; and of every operation of one independent prince against

another: whilst the high royal titles, by which some of those governors might be distinguished, will prove nothing against the hypothesis. Lofty titles have, in all ages, been liberally bestowed by the paramount sovereigns of Asia on their favourites and feudatory princes. A simple viceroy might possibly have called himself the *Great King*, or the *Lord of all Asia*; or he might have been so dignified by the Grecians: but titles, we all know, do not always carry with them actual possession. No prince indeed that ever lived could, at any time, be stiled, without an hyperbole, *Lord of all Asia*. Such titles are in fact mere Eastern figures: and we find often similar expressions, where it is evident they can by no means be taken in their literal extent, “Thus saith
 “Cyrus, king of Persia, the Lord God of
 “Heaven hath given me *all the kingdoms of*
 “*the earth*, Ezra, ch. i. 2.”—“For I never
 “hurt any that was willing to serve Nabu-
 “chodonosor, the *king of all the earth*,” Judith, ch. xi. 1. ⁹

IN respect to the *Expedition of Xerxes*, exclusive of the intrinsic difficulties which we find in the Grecian accounts, I must still be permitted to consider the total silence of Eastern authors, upon an event of such mag-

nitude, as a circumstance of some wonder. Silence, alone, I am sensible can never disprove a fact: but it may surely furnish matter of doubt. Did an intelligent foreigner read, in our history, the battles of Crecy, of Poitiers, and of Agincourt, or the Destruction of the Spanish Armada; which, on turning to the Annals of France and Spain, he found nothing to corroborate: it would hardly be thought, I believe, any impeachment of his judgment, should he either entertain a suspicion of the whole, or suppose, that much of their importance had arisen from the embellishment of our historians.

THAT the Persians had been early in the practice of keeping records, and entering in them, with minuteness and regularity, a variety of circumstances, not so interesting to their empire as the invasion of Xerxes, we are sufficiently informed in the Sacred Writings. Is it easily to be conceived then, that an expedition should have been wholly unnoticed, which must have strained every sinew of the state; in which two kings are described as so anxiously interested; which was many years in preparation; and in the course of which hundreds of royal edicts must unavoidably have been issued and recorded? I think it is not. And upon this, as well as on many

other grounds, I remain still in doubt, whether any such expedition was ever undertaken by the *Paramount sovereign of Persia*. Disguised in name, by some Greek corruption, Xerxes may possibly have been a feudatory prince or viceroy of the Western districts: and that an invasion of Greece may have actually taken place, under this prince, I shall readily believe: but upon a scale, I must also believe, infinitely narrower than the least exaggerated description of the Greek historians.*

IN these indeed the truth is so remarkably blended with fiction, that we can no where draw the line; nor determine, upon any rational principles, what we should believe, and what we should reject. In Herodotus, as before observed, the reputed followers of Xerxes amount to 5,283,220. Isocrates, in his *Panathenaicos*, estimates the land army in round numbers at 5,000,000. And with them Plutarch, in general, agrees. But such myriads appeared to Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, so much stretched beyond all belief, that they at once cut off about four fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this, but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition? What circumstance in the whole

narration is more explicit in Herodotus ; or, by its frequent repetition in detail, not in figures but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistakes of copiers ? If one class of historians think it necessary then to differ so widely from their authority in so very essential a point, upon what principles are we to give credit to other facts, which they adopt, without producing any corroborating evidence to render them more authentic ?

YET, like all who have not truth for their ground-work, even these writers cannot avoid contradiction in their own narratives. Diodorus, for example, makes the Asiatic army of Xerxes 800,000 ; and the European auxiliaries 200,000 ; in all *one million*. But, in a few pages, he gives us the Inscription said to have been cut on the monument at Thermopylæ ; where, like Falstaff's men in buckram, *one million* rises at once to *two*. And here again, he disagrees with Herodotus, who, from the same monument, makes the number that fought against Leonidas no fewer than *three millions* *. A monument, we may also

* Diodorus, at the same time, has preserved no consistency in the proportion, which his main army bears to that of the old historian : for, instead of *two millions*, in the ratio of one to five, there should hardly have been 600,000.

observe is, in general, considered as a record of some authenticity : but if this had not been much suspected, Diodorus, whatever liberties he might be disposed to take with Herodotus, would hardly have ventured to have altered it. Such discordant authorities indeed, did not the numbers themselves exceed all credibility, speak little in favour of the inscription : and lead us to conclude, that the same misinformation, policy, or hyperbole, which influenced Herodotus and Isocrates, might have also influenced those who erected the monument. To flatter the prowess, to elevate the spirits, and to swell the importance of a nation, even by fiction, has been often thought the part of a good citizen. And to such motives, I believe, we may safely attribute every circumstance of exaggerated description in the detail of this famous invasion."

I SHALL not here enlarge upon the bridge over the Hellespont, which there is reason to believe never existed but in the imagination : but shall only observe, that a bridge of boats, two miles in length, over a streight of the sea ; where the current, when the wind blows from the north, rushes with a rapidity which no vessel can resist ; seems not only to be unsupported, but contradicted by the experience of mankind in all ages and countries. Neither shall I make many remarks

on the cutting of Mount Athos. This celebrated promontory on the coast of Macedonia, is not, by sea, much above two hundred miles from Athens : and we are told, that Xerxes, for three years before he crossed the Hellespont, had employed a number of men in separating it from the continent, in order to make a canal for his shipping. We are likewise told, that Themistocles had, even from the battle of Marathon, been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion. But do we ever hear of his supporting his opinion by the most distant hint of this canal ; the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation ? Numbers of his fellow citizens, we are likewise informed, gave no credit to his predictions. But could they have been one moment in doubt, whilst chains were professedly forging for them, even in their hearing ? Themistocles, it is said, prevailed on the Athenians to add a hundred gallies to their fleet. But do we hear even of a proposal, during the whole three years, to surprize the Persian squadron, or to cut off this detachment, before they could be supported by the grand army ? Is there any thing here consistent with the character of Greek ? Where is that valour, vigilance, and enter-

prize, for which they have been so celebrated? Could they, could any men indeed, have been so completely stupid, as to lie thus supinely inattentive, without a single effort, till ruin was at the threshold, and nothing but a miracle could save them? Upon general principles I hold it to be absolutely incredible. "

I SHALL conclude my observations on this head, with a few remarks touching the expence; upon which however I build little. But I only wish, as Herodotus even here seems inconsistent, to see it judiciously accounted for by any gentleman, who may adopt his relation; in respect to those prodigious works, and the numbers engaged in the enterprize. I have not met with the exact pay of a Persian soldier in old times: but the Greeks tell us, that they served for nothing, till the age of twenty: after which, they received pay from the public treasuries of the different provinces. We are not, I think, to suppose the Persians, at the era of this invasion, to have been poorer than the Greeks; whose foot soldiers, at different periods, received two, three, and four oboli a day. It may also be here in general remarked, that the pay of the Asiatic soldiery, in all ages, where rich plunder was not in view, has for the most part been higher than that of European armies. But

let us go upon the most moderate line of calculation; and take the lowest pay of the Grecian foot soldier, as the standard for the army of Xerxes. This, at two-pence a day for 5,283,220, would exceed sixteen millions per annum.* Now the extra-contingencies of any campaign will be found, I believe, in all times to exceed the pay of the troops. And when we consider the immense fleet, on board of which were about 600,000 men: the subsidies and additional pay to the mercenaries from Carthage, Gaul, Spain, Italy; all employed against a country where no plunder was to be expected: and if to this we shall add the enormous expence of a luxurious Asiatic court, the calculation must be esteemed low, if we only double the pay, and make the whole annual charge thirty-two millions. But Herodotus, who has particularly enumerated the articles of revenue at which the provinces of Persia had been taxed by Darius Hystaspes, a few years before this expedition, makes the

* A poor man, according to the orator Lyfias, was allowed an obolus (or penny) a day from the public treasury of Athens: and 6000 pence was considered as sufficient for the maintenance of five persons during a year. If each follower of Xerxes then consumed as much as a common Athenian, instead of sixteen millions, it would be above twenty-six; which is in favour of my calculation.

whole amount to no more than 14,560 Euboic talents; which (at 193 l. 15 s. per talent) is only 2,821,000 l. Some smaller sums are indeed hinted at, as not considerable enough to be particularly specified: but suppose the whole to be 3,000,000 l. and it will fall short of one tenth of the expence. Darius, it may also be observed, who, according to Herodotus, first established a fixed revenue, was almost constantly engaged in wars; and those of the most draining kind: either against revolted subjects, as the Babylonians, Egyptians, Ionians: or against the Scythians and Greeks, by whom he was repulsed. India is the only exception: the tribute from which (4680 talents) is included in the above list. In such circumstances, he cannot be supposed to have hoarded much. Xerxes could of course succeed to no great superfluity of treasure: and in the beginning of his reign, we are told, he was under the necessity of quelling the Egyptian revolt; which could not be accomplished without considerable expence. Whatever ideas may be formed, at the same time, of Asiatic despotism, we may observe, that the most arbitrary tyrant cannot, in any age, much exceed bounds in the raising of extraordinary supplies. A people can bear oppression only to a certain degree: and depopulation or re-

bellion must soon convince him of his error. The great sources of riches, trade, manufacture, and agriculture, in any improved state, were to be found in few of the provinces: and the various resources of modern times were then utterly unknown. But, to give every latitude to the argument, let us suppose, on this occasion, a fourfold proportion of money, provisions and other articles to have been exacted; an increase of taxation which no country in the world perhaps could ever suddenly bear: yet even this will but little exceed the third part of the lowest possible estimate. When we consider then the number of years, which this expedition, in preparation and execution, is said to have employed; and the enormous sums to which the whole must have amounted; Herodotus and his followers cannot be consistent. Either his minute state of the revenue of Persia must be fictitious; or the Invasion, upon the enlarged line, must, even on this ground, be impossible. *

BUT, did any further arguments appear necessary to confute these exaggerated numbers, the contrasting of them with the comparative smallness of the Persian armies, which opposed Alexander, would alone be sufficient. It was not *then* an expedition against a small territory. The object was the preservation or

the downfall of the Persian empire. Darius was a prince in every respect superior to any description we have of Xerxes. His empire was larger, more firmly established, more flourishing; and his riches, if we credit Justin, incomparably greater. When all was at stake may we not then believe that every exertion was made? Yet although the design of the preparations of Philip and Alexander had been long known in Persia, the army at the passage of the Granicus hardly exceeded 100,000 men. At Issus, where Darius commanded in person, the accounts vary from four to six hundred thousand. And, at the great and decisive battle of Arbela, after the king had strained every nerve, whilst Alexander was employed in the siege of Tyre and in the reduction of Egypt, the most exaggerated estimates make his army only about a million; whilst the more authentic details do not make it half that number. ^y

To sum up all; the expedition of Xerxes, upon the most moderate scale of the Greek writers, seems to be inconsistent with probability and the ordinary powers of man. It is all upon stilts. Every step we take is upon romantic ground. And nothing indeed seems wanting, but a few Genies, to make it, in every respect, an exceeding good Arabian Tale. ^z

I HAVE observed, that till the reign of Philip of Macedon, the Persian historians have hardly mentioned the Grecians but in the light of tributaries to the Persian empire : and, if we pay a little attention to the Grecians themselves, we shall have little reason, I presume, to think that this idea was adopted without some foundation. For, that every state almost, European and Asiatic, without excepting even Athens and Sparta, were, at different times, and in different degrees, under the control of the Persian kings, will not with justice be disputed, by any man who has read with attention the historians of Greece. *

THE Persians, like every aspiring overgrown state, early aimed at universal empire : and, in the pursuit of this pernicious phantom, so flattering to the pride of absolute monarchs as well as of republics, it is not the courage, nor is it the poverty, of any particular people, that can put them in safety against the efforts of over-ruling ambition. *

THE Gauls, the Germans, the Britons, were unquestionably very brave and very poor : yet the Romans thought them objects of sufficient consequence, to employ against them, for many years, their greatest generals : to fight numberless battles with various success : to destroy above a million of men : and all, to

get possession of countries, the very description of which seems to freeze their authors as they write. ^c

THE Scythians, the Greeks, and other ancient nations, appear to have been similar objects of ambition to the Persians. With many they were successful. By the Scythians they were repulsed. And, in respect to the Greeks, nothing for a long time appears to have been decisive. The Ionians, the Æolians, the Dorians, we are however informed, were subjected by Cyrus, after the defeat of Cræsus. In the revenue roll of Darius Hyftaspes, we see them accordingly, with other neighbouring states, rated at 400 talents: and, with some intervals of revolt, they continued to be tributary to the Persians, till the time of Alexander. Indeed, their general conduct, upon various occasions, proves them, as well as others, to have been, to every great purpose, subjects of the empire. In the fleet of Xerxes, as enumerated by Herodotus and Diodorus, we have not only Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, but Rhodians, Samians, Milesians, Lesbians, Chians, Theffalians, Acheans; and indeed squadrons from almost every seaport and island comprehended between the Hellespont and the promontories of Sunium in Attica, and Triopus on the Carian coast: whilst his land army,

on his arrival in Europe, was, according to Lyfias and other writers, reinforced by every Grecian state; Athens, Sparta, Theſpia, and Plataea excepted. ^d

WHAT conclusions can be drawn from ſuch undoubted facts? Have ſuch ſtates the appearance of independence? That there were frequent ſtruggles againſt the Perſian power, headed by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, cannot be doubted: but it ſeems to be equally undoubted, that on the appearance of the Perſian armies, thoſe republics, who, either from fear or choice, continued in obedience, immediately, like Phrygians, Syrians, and other ſubjects of the empire, joined the royal ſtandard; and fought, without compulſion or reluctance, againſt their countrymen. ^e

THE invaſion of Xerxes, it muſt be here obſerved, was not a ſudden attack, where one ſtate might have been ſubdued before the others could have marched to their aſſiſtance: for, whiſt the famous canal of Athos and the equally famous bridge over the Hellespont were a-making, Xerxes, as the Greeks tell us, was full three years on the coaſts of Aſia Minor, in open preparation for the ſubjugation of Greece. Here was evidently time ſufficient, whiſt the ſtorm was impending, to have healed all animoſities, which peace and rivalſhip

might have created ; to have united every *independent* state in one compact body ; and to have made every kind of exertion for repelling the common foe. But that the Persian was considered, as such, by *all* the republics of Greece, does by no means appear on the face of history. Many of them seem, on the contrary, to have been far more afraid of the arbitrary tyranny of Athens and Sparta : and apparently, with much more reason. For the most unfeeling despotism on record carries with it an air of mildness, when compared to the barbarous rapacity with which the Athenians and Spartans oppressed their colonies and subordinate states. We accordingly, on this occasion, read of no compulsion. The Asiatic, European, and Insular squadrons of Greek shipping join Xerxes on his first movement, three years before he sets foot on European ground ; and before he could be in a situation to overawe them : whilst, had all the Asiatic Greeks, on the contrary, like independent men, betaken themselves to their shipping, and joined the Island and European fleets ; they might have destroyed, or at least so weakened the Persian maritime force, as to have rendered the invasion abortive. ^f

CAN any chain of acknowledged facts imply a clearer dependence of the Greeks ; whether

it originated from the sword, from corruption, from jealousy, or from all together? Nothing but the positive proof which their own histories afford us, when they come down to more authentic times. For, from the peace of Antalcidas, in the year 387 before Christ, till the Macedonian conquest, there is hardly an historical fact less liable to suspicion. The Asiatic Greeks and many of the islands are, in that disgraceful treaty, formally acknowledged as subjects of the Persian king: their citadels are garrisoned by Persian troops: and an actual tribute is continued to be levied, as an old and undoubted right. Even Athens and Sparta appear to have enjoyed, during this period, only the mere shadow of freedom: a shadow, somewhat similar to that with which they were afterwards flattered, when part of the Roman empire: and they seem indeed to have been, to every essential end, as effectually submissive to the *Great King*, as any province of his dominions. Can any evidence, upon this head, be more pointed and explicit than the speeches of their greatest orators on the abject slavery of their condition? “At present,” says Isocrates (in his Panegyric of Athens) “the king of Persia takes the lead “in all our affairs, commands us to pursue

“ that conduct which is most agreeable to his
 “ interest ; and, except that he does not send
 “ his nobles to be our governors, what is
 “ wanting to complete his authority ? Is he
 “ not the arbiter of war and peace ? Are not
 “ all our measures subject to his controul ?
 “ Do we not run to him with our accusa-
 “ tions against one another, as to our um-
 “ pire and lord ? and we call him the *Great*
 “ *King*, as if we were his slaves.” *

Can more be necessary ? And what corolla-
 ry must we draw from the whole ? That the
 Asiatic Greeks were subject and tributary to
 Persia, there does not remain, in my appre-
 hension, the least doubt. And that the Eu-
 ropean states, if not positively furnishing a re-
 venue, were in a state of dependence almost
 as humiliating, seems to be equally clear.
 Do we not find the Persian monarch prescrib-
 ing their rule of conduct ? Do we not find their
 soldiers in all his armies ? * Do we not find
 their chiefs resorting to his court with solici-

* The Greek cities of Asia Minor, particularly Mile-
 tus and Halicarnassus, (the birth-place of Herodotus) were
 most obstinately defended against Alexander, by Memnon
 a Grecian : and he was opposed by Greeks in every battle
 he fought with Darius ; no fewer than 12,000 of them
 falling at the battle of Issus.

tations and mutual complaints? What stronger marks of subjection, the form of Satrap government excepted, do we discover among the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Medes? And what situation of one country, with relation to another, could more fully justify writers who, from such strong appearances, should declare the one to be subject or tributary to the other? Historians, when speaking generally, are not expected to descend to minute exceptions. That some of the Grecian states never were tributary to Persia, in a literal sense, I shall readily admit: but that there were enough, in the eye especially of a foreign writer, to involve the smaller in the greater number, seems to be a very unquestionable historical fact. Nothing indeed is more common than such general modes of expression. Alexander is said to have conquered India, when he confessedly never saw the Ganges. And the Romans thought there was no impropriety in calling Britain a province of the empire, though a great part of it remained inimical and independent. ^h

BEFORE I conclude this head, I shall beg leave to offer a few observations on some animadversions which Mr. Bryant has thought

proper to make on this subject †. It is im-

† “ You favour the Persian historians ; and perhaps very justly. Yet I sometimes have apprehended, that you may hurt your own cause by the principles upon which you try to establish it. For when you contrast the Persian writers with those of Greece, you seem to found their merit on mere negatives ; which some may look upon as capital deficiencies. You accordingly tell us, p. 42. 3. that there is no mention made of Cyrus the Great ; nor of Crœsus : nor of the kingdom of Lydia being annexed to that of Persia. There is moreover no account of Smerdis Magnus ; nor of Darius the son of Hystaspes : nor does the name of Cyrus the Younger occur in the catalogue, which you give. Consequently the expedition under Clearchus, and the return of the ten thousand under Xenophon, are not to be found. *Not a vestige*, say you, *is to be discovered of the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea, or Mycale* : all which, I fear, will not make in favour of your historians. As they are therefore silent about so many events, pray, what information is there, for which we may be beholden to them ? Why, they tell us, you say, p. 45. that the Grecians, so far from having had any advantages over the Persians, were in reality tributaries to them ; and their states under contribution : p. 45. That Philip of Macedon was likewise dependant upon the same people : that he had been defeated in Macedonia by Darius ; and paid annually *a thousand golden eggs*, p. 49. Lastly, what is very extraordinary, and little thought of, that Alexander the Great was a Persian, the son of Darius Codomannus : the same prince, whom he defeated, and succeeded. *ibid.*” See *Mr. Bryant's Apology*

possible to call them arguments: these he has not thought necessary. I wish he had thought it equally unnecessary to misrepresent my meaning and to misquote my words: or, (as he himself observes, in respect to the Dutch reviewers) “to invent matter of accusation, where the writer himself is guilty.” Amongst other points which I shall pass unnoticed, I must beg to know where I have said, that the Greeks had *no* advantages over the Grecians? where I have called Alexander a *Persian*? and where he is said to be the *son* of Darius Codomannus? I have doubted, and I think with reason, the *magnitude* of the Persian invasions, and of the Grecian victories: but where have I denied the events themselves? I have said that Alexander, for whom the Persians have a high respect, was supposed by them to be the son of Darab I. by a daughter of Philip; but to have been *born in Macedon*: Does this constitute him a *Persian*? *

to the Author of this Dissertation, p. 93.—I shall have occasion to mention more particularly this (privately circulated) *Apology* in the course of the following sheets.

* The Asiatics, on the contrary, so far from calling him a *Persian*, stile him, in general, *Eskander Younani*, *Alexander the Ionian* or the *Greek*; to distinguish him from another famous *Eskander*; whom they suppose to have been a very ancient king of Persia.

I have said too that Alexander was considered as the *brother by half blood* to Darab II. (Darius Codomannus) : does that make him his son ? ⁱ

I MUST likewise beg of the learned gentleman to inform me, from what words of mine he can draw his conclusions in respect to *Cyrus the Younger*, and the *expedition of Clearchus* ? Or where I have, in the most remote manner, even hinted a disbelief of that part of history ? What right, let me also ask, could this prince have, either in Western or Eastern historians, to a place in the catalogue of Persian kings ? Did he ever reign ? Do we generally place among the sovereigns of any state unsuccessful competitors for the throne ? Do we rank the Duke of Monmouth among the kings of England ? How can we reasonably expect, at the same time, to find in Oriental writers the *return of the ten thousand Greeks* ? Illustrious as this retreat was, it is to accident alone that we are indebted for it, in any conspicuous light. Had not such a writer as Xenophon been actively concerned in the circumstances which he relates, it might have been but barely known, and uninterestingly recorded : like many a noble achievement, which in all ages, from inattention or inability to commemorate them, have been either lost, or very

imperfectly told. This famous expedition was certainly of high importance to the men engaged in it. It was glorious to the name of Greek. But could it stand in any such light of consequence to the Persians? It might be sufficient for their writers simply to mention, that a rebellion had broke out; that it had made a progress; and that it was crushed: without judging it in the least necessary, to trace the scattered remains of the defeated army thro' all the difficulties of a route they did not know: or to relate adventures, which could never apparently reach their ear.*

BUT indeed the silence of the Persian historians, with regard to such an event, could never, in my opinion, injure it in the least: any more than their silence on the internal wars and politics of Greece would affect Thucydides or the great Athenian orators. Details so minute, so accurate, and so apparently authentic, stand not in need of collateral support: and must even so far affect the authority of contradictory writers, that, on this ground, I coincide entirely with Mr. Hume; “Diodorus Siculus is a good writer: but it is
“with pain I see his narration contradict, in
“so many particulars, the two most authentic
“pieces of all Greek history, viz. Xeno-

“phon’s expedition, and Demosthenes’s orations.”¹

UPON the whole, I beg leave to repeat, that I entertain no undue partiality for Eastern writers : nor will I, in many respects, lift them to a level with the Greeks. Their manner is different, and less adapted to an European taste. They have their prejudices too, as well as the Greeks ; but we cannot so easily make an allowance for the one, as we have been accustomed to make for the other. It is to matters of fact, however, that I chiefly point. On this ground I have endeavoured to shew, that the Greeks are not always to be trusted. Some of their best friends, I have also shewn, think they are hardly to be trusted at all. Though the Asiatics therefore may have some failings, they may have likewise some merits : and that they *might*, in judicious hands, amend our received history of Eastern countries, is not, I hope, too bold a thought. I have already observed, that the chief Persian historians are subsequent to the Mohammedan era : but I have also observed, that they drew their materials from much older writers. Those writers, it is true, are not at present known : but that is no argument, why they may not, in time, be found. M. D’Herbelot observes, that a collection of

ancient Persian historians had been long ago translated into Arabic by Ebn Mocanna. Could even this translation be recovered, some judgment might possibly be formed of the authenticity of those we already have. But this must be a distant object. Eastern studies have but few admirers. And, indeed, till the Great and the Learned, as bodies or as individuals, shall be more forward in their encouragement of such discoveries, those who may bestow much attention upon them, may boast perhaps more zeal than discretion; and possibly may write what very few will read.

S E C T. II.

Of the Importance of women in the East. Their station in society not justly understood by European travellers. They enjoy in many parts privileges similar to those of Europe. The rise and progress of the Mohammedan religion connected perhaps with those privileges. Instances of the influence of women in public affairs. Marriage settlements. Divorces. Nuptial ceremonies. Singular modes of marriage. Dress of Eastern women. Many European fashions of great antiquity in the East.

TRAVELLERS, in general, do not appear to have conceived a just idea of the situation of Women in many Eastern countries. They are, for the most part, considered by them as of small consequence in the state : they are represented as mere slaves to the passions of the stronger sex : and, because the great men keep many beautiful Circassians locked up from public view, a proper distinction does not seem always to have been

made between them and free born women. But an attention to the languages and customs of Asia, will give us reason to believe, that such indiscriminate observations are partial, superficial, and inconclusive. I have already (p. 198, &c.) thrown out some ideas on this subject: and shall here offer a few more facts, which appear to strengthen my opinion. ^a

IN Arabia, very early, we find the women in high consideration; and possessing privileges hardly inferior to those which they enjoy in the most enlightened countries of Europe. They had a right, by the laws, to the enjoyment of independent property, by inheritance, by gift, by marriage settlement, or by any other mode of acquisition. The wife had a regular dower, which she was to enjoy in full right after the demise of her husband: and she had also a kind of pin-money, or paraphernalia, which she might dispose of in her life-time, or bequeath at her death, without his knowledge or consent. ^b

To this consideration and weight, which property, by the laws and customs of the Arabians, gave to the female sex, it may even perhaps be no extravagant stretch of thought, to trace the success, if not the origin, of a religion; which, from the extensiveness of its operations, may be considered as one of the

greatest events in the history of mankind. Poverty, as Cardinal de Retz justly observes, is the grave of many a great design. And so low in circumstances was Mohammed, in the early part of life, that had it not been for the weight and power which he derived from his marriage with a rich widow, his enthusiasm might, perhaps, have just existed and expired with himself. His father Abdallah was a younger son of Abdolmotalleb, chief of the Koreish tribe; but, dying young, he left Mohammed and his mother, for all their estate, only five camels and an Ethiopian slave. When he arrived at man's estate, his fortune was, of consequence, so humble, that he was recommended by his uncle as factor to the widow Khadijah; who carried on an extensive trade with Syria and other countries. This lady was of a noble family, and of the same tribe. She had been twice married: she had been largely left by both husbands: and had improved the whole by commerce. Her young factor was esteemed the handsomest man of his age: his genius was quick: and his address insinuating. She made him her third husband; and, with her hand, she gave him the disposal of her fortune. Being a man of birth, this raised him at once, from a menial station, to a level with the first no-

bles of Arabia ; and gave him consequence, independence, and leisure, sufficient to prepare the plans for his future greatness. It was fifteen years after this marriage before he publicly assumed the prophetic character : and he then met with such vigorous opposition, particularly from the leading men of his own tribe, that, nearly crushed as he often was, he must probably have been quite overwhelmed ; had not his riches, by increasing his power, his importance, and his proselytes, furnished him with resources to overcome difficulties ; which might otherwise have baffled all the vigour of his genius *.

THE Prophet, at his death, left many widows : four of whom, whilst they lived, had considerable weight in the councils of the Arabs. But the influence of Ayesha, whom they dignified with the title of *Mother of the Faithful*, was almost unbounded. Ali, as son-in-law and cousin-german to Mohammed, was generally considered as his successor : but he had incurred the displeasure of Ayesha, whom he had once, with many others, accused of incontinence : and she never forgave him. Her father Abubeker owed his eleva-

* Mohammed received also a large fortune with Ayesha, the daughter of Abubekre : and a still larger with the widow Hafsa, daughter of Omar.

tion to the Khalifat chiefly to her address. Upon his decease, she supported Omar. She was the chief conspirator against Othman, the successor of Omar. And when Ali, at length, succeeded to the Khalifat, she headed a formidable rebellion against him. She took Basrah ; and gave him battle near that place. This famous action is called *Yumu'l'jamal*, the *day of the camel*, from a large white one, upon which she was mounted. She rode through the ranks ; and, to animate her troops, she drove into the thickest of the battle. Seventy hands, it is said, were struck off, in attempting to seize her bridle. And, when the legs of her camel were at length cut off, the carriage in which she sat resembled a porcupine, from the number of javelins and arrows with which it was transfixed. The superior generalship of Ali prevailed ; her army, though more numerous, was routed ; and she fell into the hands of the Khalif. When brought before him, he said, “ What dost thou think of the work of God to thee ? ” She answered, “ Thou hast conquered, O Ali ! be merciful.” The generous Ali did show her mercy. He sent her to Medina, attended by seventy women in men’s apparel * ; where she was ordered

* This circumstance is mentioned in the *Tarikhu'l'mo-slem* ; but no reason is assigned for such an escort.

to confine herself to her house, and to meddle no more in state affairs. On the death of Ali, however, she recovered her influence: and, many years afterwards, when Moawiyah wished to make the Khalifat hereditary in his family, he thought it necessary to secure her interest, by a present of bracelets valued at 150,000 dinars, near 70,000 l. ^a

THE Arabian women of rank seem indeed to have taken a very active concern both in civil and military affairs. At the battle of Ohod, where Mohammed was defeated by the Pagan Meccans, the reserve, we find, was led on by Henda, the wife of Abu Sofian, a man of the first rank. She was accompanied by fifteen other women of distinction; who, with music and exhortations, animated the troops. By their spirit and reproaches they were repeatedly rallied, when retiring before Mohammed: and by them, in a great measure, was the fortune of the day decided. ^c

ONE of the most considerable of the prophet's opposers, was a lady called Forka; who seems to have answered exactly the description of a feudal peeress in the middle ages of Europe. She was possessed of territory, of a castle, and of great riches and consideration. Her troops had checked the inroads of the Prophet's marauding parties;

and Zeid, one of his chief generals, was sent to reduce her to obedience. The defence of her castle was obstinate : but it was at length taken by storm : and the lady, with part of her garrison, were killed. Amongst other captives was Forka's young daughter and heiress ; who, with all her wealth, became the prize of the conqueror. ^f

MANY other examples might be given ; but it may be sufficient, for the present subject, to observe in general, that the dignified behaviour, which distinguished the Arabian women, long before and after Mohammed, points clearly to a consciousness of their own importance : to which an habitual slavery and subjection could never possibly have given birth. ^g

NUMBERLESS instances of the consequence of women might be brought also from Persia, Tartary, and other Eastern countries. But I must again beg the reader to remember, that the limits of these sketches will not permit me to enter into details ; or to present to his attention any thing but mere outlines. It is certain, among other privileges, that they possessed the right of succession to the throne ; and often acted as regents during the minority of their sons. Touran dokht and Azurmi dokht, the daughters of Khosrou

Parviz, were successively the reigning queens of Persia, a few years before the Mohammedan conquest.—About the beginning of the tenth century, queen Seidet was regent, during the non-age of her son, and governed with much wisdom. When he took the reins of government, he appointed the famous physician Avicenna to be his vizir. But, public affairs being managed with much imprudence, the queen mother, finding herself treated with indignity, retired from court; and, raising an army, defeated her son: whom, nevertheless, she restored to the throne; and assisted, from that time, with her councils. The kingdom flourished whilst she lived: but, on her death, the powerful Sultan Mahmoud of Ghezna, who had ever treated her with much respect, attacked her dissipated son, and annexed Persia to his empire. ^s

ACCORDING to Abulgazi Khan, by the ancient laws of the Moguls, a prince could not reign till he was thirty years of age: on which occasions, the Queen mother acted always as regent. He gives an instance, in this place, of a princess, named Alanca, (from whom Jengiz Khan derived descent) who governed her people, for many years, during the minority of her son. Turkhan Khatun, a Tartar lady, mother of Mohammed, Sultan

of Kharezmé, was a princess of uncommon abilities, and had such an ascendancy over her son, that she, in a great measure, governed the kingdom; which, before the invasion of Jengiz Khan, was considered as the most powerful in the East: and the court the most magnificent and polite. Yet ladies of the first distinction thought it not inconsistent with the delicacy of their sex to take the field against the Moguls. They made also many sallies during the siege of the capital; which held out, near twelve months, against a prodigious army commanded by three of Jenghiz Khan's sons. And, when it was taken at last by assault, the inhabitants, male and female, retired, fighting, from house to house, and from street to street; till, according to the lowest computation, above a hundred thousand were killed. The spirit indeed of the Kharezmian women, has induced some writers to consider them as the descendants of the ancient Amazons.^a

THE Vizir Nezam gives many instances of the political influence of the Women in Eastern courts; and is at infinite pains to advise his son to pay to them the highest attention. He divides the court into four classes, at the head of which he places the Women: and observes, that much of his success will depend upon the manner in which he conducts

himself towards them. The first class that claims your notice, says he, are the Principal Women: the next, the King's Sons: after them, the Great Omras: and, last of all, the Inferior Ministers.—Altun Tash, continues the Vizir, was the first Omra of the Divan, in the reign of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghezna. When the government of Kharezme being vacant, he solicited the appointment. As he was esteemed the chief pillar of the throne, the court was surprized, that he should have accepted it. And a friend begging of him to know, what could induce him to resign the power he had over so vast an empire, to take the charge of a corner: Altun Tash replied,

“ By the God who created heaven and earth,
 “ the secret which I shall now disclose to
 “ you I have not revealed to any living soul.
 “ It was the enmity of Jemila Kandahari,
 “ and that only, which made me give up the
 “ power I had over this great empire. For,
 “ many years have the affairs thereof been
 “ under my management: and, in that
 “ time, whatever I tied she unloosed; and
 “ whatever I unloosed she tied. What she
 “ resolved upon I was incapable of opposing;
 “ and whatever she opposed it was in vain
 “ for me to attempt. Vexed with being con-
 “ tinually foiled, and unable to apply a re-

“ medy, the world appeared dark in my
“ eyes ; and I voluntarily threw myself into
“ this retirement, where I trust in God I
“ shall be safe from the effects of her resent-
“ ment.” We must not suppose, that this
female influence was thus powerful in the
court of a weak or a dissipated prince : for
Mahmoud was one of the greatest monarchs
that ever reigned : almost the whole of his
great empire he had conquered himself ; and
it was governed intirely under his own inspec-
tion. Jemila Kandahari, whom I have al-
ready mentioned (p. 207.) appears to have
been the first lady of the bed-chamber to
Mahmoud’s Sultana : and her resentment a-
gainst Altun Tash, was owing to his opposi-
tion to the Vizir Ahmed Hassan, whom she
patronized. Gallantry, at the same time,
does not appear to have had any concern in
her operations : for Nezam observes, that,
though her favourite Ahmed corresponded
with her often, they did not see one another
perhaps once in twelve months. ⁱ

MARRIAGE settlements and portions given
with daughters, or sisters, appear to be of
great antiquity in Arabia : for, long before
Mohammed, they had refined so much upon
them, that it became common, where two

men were obliged to give great fortunes with their female relations, to evade payment, by making a double marriage: one espousing the daughter or sister of the other; and giving his daughter or sister in return. This practice, which they called *Shigar*, probably with the view of encouraging alliances among different tribes, or preventing too much wealth from accumulating in particular families, Mohammed declared to be illegal in the Alcoran. —THE separate property, or paraphernalia, which the wife enjoyed, seems to have been the produce of such presents as the bride received from her friends, or from her future husband, before marriage. Those of the bridegroom, which were called *Nukl*, had no fixed medium; being proportioned to his affection, to his fortune, and often to his ostentation: for it was customary to send those presents, a day or two before the nuptials, with great pomp, from his house to the dwelling of the bride. And although the whole might have been carried, perhaps with ease, by one or two camels, horses, or servants, they would frequently make a procession of ten, twenty, thirty, or more: every one bearing something, set off with ornaments, in a gay shewy manner.^k

THEIR marriage ceremonies, in the East,

seem indeed to have been, in all times, attended with much festivity and public parade. All the friends of both families assembled: and, where the fortune or the vanity of the bridegroom, or of the father of the bride, were considerable, they were in general very expensive. The nuptials of persons of high rank, were astonishingly splendid. The marriage of the Khalif Almamoun with the daughter of Hassan Sahal, governor of Babylonian Irak, was attended with almost incredible expence. Slaves of both sexes, with other rich presents, were sent by the governor to every grandee. He defrayed the expence of the whole court and of the Khalif's guards, during that prince's residence at Fom-malsaleh, where Hassan Sahal generally lived. The roads from thence to Baghdad, for near a hundred miles, were covered with mats of gold and silver stuff: and the bride's head-dress was adorned with a thousand pearls; each, (if there is no mistake or exaggeration) of the size of a pigeon's egg or of a large nut: which the Khalif immediately settled on her, as part of her dower. ¹

EVEN upon ordinary occasions it was usual to throw amongst the populace, as the procession moved along, money, sweetmeats, flowers, and other articles; which the people

caught in cloths, made for such occasions, stretched in a particular manner upon frames. With regard to the money, however, there appears often to have been a mixture of œconomy or rather of deception ; which probably arose from the necessity of complying with a custom, that might be ill suited to the fortunes of some, and to the avarice of others : for we find, that it was not uncommon to collect bad money, called *kelb*, at a low price, to throw away at nuptial processions. "

THE bride, on the day of marriage, was conducted with great ceremony by her friends to her husband's house ; and immediately on her arrival, she made him a variety of presents ; especially of household furniture, with a spear, and a tent. There seems to be a curious similitude, in some of those ceremonies, to customs which prevailed amongst the old Germans, before they left their forests ; as well as among the Gothic nations, after they were established in their conquests. Tacitus observes, that the German bridegrooms and brides made each other reciprocal presents ; and particularly of arms and cattle. The gifts made to the Eastern bride appear likewise to have been upon the same principles with the *Morgengabe*, or *Morning gift*, which it was common for the European hus-

band, in the early and middle ages, to present to his wife the morning after marriage. And, whilst the dower, in both, seems to have reverted, upon the death of the widow, to the kindred of the husband, the presents were left entirely at her own disposal. "

A MAN, without the interposition of the law, might divorce his wife, provided he paid to her whatever dower had been settled by the marriage contract: unless he could prove, to the satisfaction of her assembled friends, that her conduct had given sufficient cause for the separation: in which case her fortune and settlements were forfeited. The wife had also the same power of divorce, if she disliked her husband: but then she relinquished her settlements, and returned all the presents she had received from him before or after marriage. A man might re-marry his divorced wife, even unto the third time; beyond which it was unlawful. The form of repudiation was very concise: the husband saying only, "Get thee gone, I care not for thee." Yet simple as it was, they considered it as so binding, that if a couple lived afterwards together, without the ceremony of a re-marriage, it was reckoned infamous, and viewed in the same light as adultery. °

TEMPORARY marriages are common in

many parts of the East. The Arabians call them *Almutab*. The Alcoran speaks rather equivocally with regard to them ; which has opened a field for much difference of opinion among the Mohammedan lawyers. About the beginning of the ninth century they were interdicted by the Khalif Almamoun : but they were never entirely discontinued ; and are now very common. They are contracted by a written indenture, witnessed by the Cadhi ; and a certain sum is settled upon the woman, to be paid to her on the expiry of the term : when the engagement may either be renewed or finally dissolved. The offspring of such connexions cannot inherit ^p

A SINGULAR matrimonial custom, we may here remark, somewhat resembling the above, prevailed of old in many parts of Europe. Men of rank, who had lost their wives, but had children, to avoid burthening their estates, might marry low born women ; who, bringing no fortune, were intitled to no dower. These contracts (according to Baron von Lowhen) are still prevalent in Germany ; where they are stiled *Left handed marriages* : it being a part of the ceremony for the bridegroom to give his left hand to the bride. The children of such marriages are not capa-

ble of inheriting ; and bear neither the name nor arms of the father. ^a

WE find in Scripture, that when a man died, leaving no issue by his wife, it was sometimes incumbent upon his next unmarried brother to espouse the widow. A custom similar to this, is not only found among the Arabians, but another still more strange. For where a father left one or more widows, the sons often married them, provided they were not their own mothers. This usage was suppressed by Mohammed : and it appears, even before his time, to have been marked with a degree of detestation : the word *Makt*, which denotes this species of marriage, signifying also *hatred* and *enmity*. Marrying a brother's widow, if childless, is still customary in some parts of Tartary ; particularly in Circassia. And Abulgazi Khan mentions several princes who had married their step-mothers. He seems indeed to consider it as a thing of course : and particularly tells us, that Octai Khan married one of the widows of his father Jengiz Khan. But what has most surprized me, is to find so odd a custom prevailing even in Scotland, so late as the eleventh century : it being mentioned by Lord Hailes in his Annals ; who supposes, that it might have originated

from avarice, in order to relieve the heir from the payment of a jointure. ' .

AN institution, we are informed, was introduced or revived among the Moguls and Tartars by Jengiz Khan, which appears to have been founded on the principles of sound political wisdom: two families, though all their children were dead, being permitted to form a matrimonial alliance, by marrying the deceased son of one to the deceased daughter of the other. These nuptials had often most salutary consequences; hostile tribes having been united by this imaginary tie, when all other means of pacification had failed. And they seem even to have viewed it with more superstitious veneration than if the parties had been alive: considering any breach of treaty, after this ideal contract, as drawing upon themselves the vengeance of the departed spirits.—The ancient Persians, from a notion that married people were peculiarly happy in a future state, used often to hire persons, to be espoused to such of their relations as had died in celibacy. ' .

It may not be quite foreign to the present subject, to make a few remarks upon some peculiarities in the dress of Eastern women; as even from thence some fresh lights may be

thrown upon the female character. In all countries where dress has arrived at any degree of refinement, whatever is considered as a beauty will generally be imitated by art, where nature has denied her bounty. To this general propensity we may trace the origin of face-painting, patches, the bolstering of the petticoats, false hair, and the feathered ornaments of the head: all which we discover very early in the East. From the description of Jezebel, and from various other passages in the Old Testament, we find, that face-painting was then fashionable among women of rank: and, from these words of Jeremiah, (ch. iv. 30.) “Though thou rendest thy face
“with painting, in vain shalt thou make thy-
“self fair;” we plainly discover, that the Jewish women had then carried it to the vicious excess, of even rending and disfiguring their faces, by repeated and intemperate use.

THE words in Arabic and Persian, which express painting in all its stages, are very numerous. They paint their cheeks and also their nails with red; the rest of the face, the neck, and the arms, with white; and their eyes, in a particular manner, with black, to give them a fine lustre. Eye-painting, we find, was common in Ezekiel’s time, (ch. xxiii. 40.)
“Thou didst wash thyself, paintedst thine

“ eyes, and deckedst thyself with ornaments.” The particular colours which the Women of Palestine affected, are not mentioned: but, among the Persians and Arabians, we find not only red, black, and white, but even saffron and other yellow washes for the face. Their hair they comb with great care; and they highly perfume it with odoriferous unguents or pomatums. Tire-women are much employed: and there are even females, whose only business is to clean, thin, and sharpen the teeth. ”

AMONG other fashions, which may possibly have been borrowed from Asia, are ornamental patches. Black moles on the face have been long considered as a singular beauty in the East. We have only to look into the Arabian and Persian poets for innumerable instances of the enthusiasm with which they admired this fancied elegance. That the ladies would, of consequence, use every art to imitate a beauty so highly prized, is extremely natural: and hence, perhaps, arose the fashion of substituting imprinted marks, or patches of black silk, to counterfeit nature. Upon the same principles we may account for the number of words in the Arabic and Persian languages which signify bolstering or quilting of the petticoats, to give an appearance of that

fine swell below the waist, which those people esteem as one of the greatest elegancies of the female shape. False hair is also frequently alluded to ; and feathers appear to have been more generally worn, than they were even lately by the ladies of England. w

I HAVE now in my possession a valuable Eastern manuscript, the property of General Carnac, Governor of Bombay ; which he purchased when Commander in Chief of the East India Company's forces in Bengal, for 1000 rupees (125 l.) * It contains extracts from the finest authors, especially Persian : some of which are ornamented in the Eastern manner, with drawings of the heroes and heroines of their poems. Some of the faces have considerable merit : and the dress of the Princesses, when unveiled, has, in many respects, a resemblance to some of the fashions of Europe. They are often drawn without any head-dress : the hair dark ; and the ringlets waving down over their neck and shoulders. They have frequently round their heads a kind of diadem,

* I embrace this public opportunity of expressing my sense of various marks of politeness which I have received from General Carnac ; and particularly the obliging manner in which he offered me the unlimited use of a most valuable collection of Eastern manuscripts.

set with precious stones ; from which rise one or more tufts of feathers : the quills of which are set in sockets of gold and gems. Sometimes they have a short stubbed appearance ; and sometimes they are long, and flow gracefully backwards. They wear sometimes nose-jewels, which those who have not been accustomed to them can never think a beauty. They have also ear-rings, not only in the lob, but in the upper part of the ear. Their necklaces consist of many rows of jewels, the lowest of which hang down over the bosom. Their dress, in general, when the upper garment is laid aside, is fitted exactly to the shape ; and seems nearly to resemble what, I believe, is called a Jesuit ; buttoning down the breast, covering the neck pretty high, and the arms down to the wrists. There is sometimes a large square jewel on the fore part of the arm, a little below the shoulder. Their girdles are very broad, generally made of fine leather ; and covered entirely over with embroidery and gems. Their robes are long and flowing behind ; and their ancles are often encircled with a ring of gold, ornamented with jewels. Upon their head they wear sometimes a low-crowned cap, terminating in a point, round which they wreath several folds of fine linen or silk ; to the top of which, when they go abroad, they

fasten, with a gold bodkin, a veil which covers the face and a great part of the body. There are few of the female faces which have not one or two black moles or artificial marks; which the Persians name *Khal*, and the Arabians *Ulteh*.—Women of inferior rank, who cannot purchase jewels, make their necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments, of small shells, or beads of different coloured glafs. *

It may be observed, before we finish this article of dress, that face and eye-painting are also in use among the men; who pay the same attention to their beards, which the women pay to their hair. They perfume them highly, and often tinge them; sometimes of a fine red, sometimes with saffron, and with various other dyes. Red was the favourite colour of Mohammed, Abubeker, or Omar: and their example was greatly followed. †

S E C T. III.

Of the Passive Obedience of Asiatics. The distinguishing manners of the East and West not always attended to by the learned. Mr. Bryant's criticism, on this head, considered. Implicit submission of the Carmathians to their chiefs. And of the Assassins or subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain.

THAT steady system of constitutional government, founded upon laws, which, whilst it gives to the monarch a solid dignity, points out to the subject the happy medium between rational obedience and abject submission, has, in all times, been imperfectly known in the East. There the despotism of the prince, checked only by the momentary and desultory resistance of the people, alternately curbs and unreins the spirit: and places the Asiatic character in lights so opposite, that we must not be surprized to find a singular mixture of slavishness and freedom in the description of the same people. 2

A PROPER attention to distinguishing characteristics is not, however, always to be found in the remarks of the learned. They too often decide with precipitation. They form their ideas of Asiatic objects by the standard alone of ancient and modern Europe; and treat perhaps rather too lightly whatever is foreign to their own line of observation. It is with pain that I find myself under the necessity of bringing this observation home to Mr. Bryant; and of differing so often and so pointedly from a gentleman, whose erudition, opportunities, and ingenuity, *properly directed*, might have greatly extended our knowledge, and happily guided our researches into the darker periods of the history of man. But, wedded, with some superstition, to one language, and to one set of writers, he looks proudly down upon all science, without his own pale; and considers facts, perfectly consistent with Eastern manners, as precisely on a level with the Tales of Mother Goose.

To illustrate the opposite senses of the same words, in different dialects of Arabia, I had introduced into my Dissertation (p. 5.) a short anecdote of the King of Arabia Felix and an envoy. This has given Mr. Bryant field for a pretty display of humour. He has embellished my simple tale with a very facetious

counterpart. And as it may possibly amuse the reader, to avoid doing him injustice by any attempt to abridge it, I shall throw the whole into the notes *.

* “ The story, p. v. concerning the envoy, who was sent to the Tobba of Arabia, is equally extraordinary and entertaining. The prince, it seems, upon the envoy being introduced, said to him, T’heb, *be seated*. But this, in the dialect of the person spoken to, unluckily signified—*precipitate yourself*: which proved an unfortunate circumstance. For the poor envoy, *with a singular deference for the orders of his sovereign*, went and threw himself from the wall of the castle, and broke his neck. Now the commands of princes ought without doubt to be heeded: yet I believe in this case few would have shewn such *singular deference* at so sudden warning. One should think, that a person would have hesitated a little, and have made some small inquiry before he had ventured all for nothing. In later times a sensible man may have shewn a mistaken regard; and have been led into an error: but hardly into one so fatal, as that mentioned above. However there have been facts somewhat similar: and as nothing sets off a history to such advantage, as its parallel, accept what follows by way of illustration: for the precise truth of which I will not vouch: but give it you as I receive it. The person concerned is supposed to have been, like the man above, an envoy: one, who resided here in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: but of what country is not said: though from his great politeness some judgment may perhaps be formed. He is represented as very infirm, and gouty: and at the same time troubled with a painful retention. The MSS.

It is a happy talent, we must confess, to trifle gracefully. Yet how few possess it! Below indeed we find a vein of pleasantry, which we do not discover every where. And, as my poor story has happily breathed this vein, it would be wrong to regret the insertion of it, were it even irreconcilable with history and manners. It happens, however, not only to be recorded by many Asiatic writers, as well as by D'Herbelot, Sale, and other European Orientalists; but is in such perfect conformity with that enthusiastic deference, which people have been known, even in later times, to pay to the most dreadful

in which he is mentioned, describes him in the following manner. *He was a very aged, and a very costive Lord: and so marred in his knees and in his ancles with the gout, that he could scant stand. One day, when he was in Privy Chamber, the Queen's Majestie noting his infirmities, sayd unto him: Good my Lord, I wish, that you could procure yourself a stool. He not truly apprehending her Grace's meaning through default of language, but thinking of his private malady, went incontinent home: and took so many laxatives, enemas, and cathartics, that he was well nigh killed. And though they gave him Hippocrass, and many cordial apozems, yet from Allhallowtide to Saint Swithin his bowels were like a bladder. Nor did they recover themselves in a year, they were so angered and aggrieved. Whatever mistake may have been made, we see here the utmost complaisance: and this too, let me tell you, in very critical circumstances. Nothing*

commands of their chiefs ; that, were the best facts, which support the learned gentleman's *Cuthite System*, but half as well grounded, his castle's strength might laugh a siege to scorn. *

I SHALL mention a few examples. The Carmathians were a powerful Sect of Arabian Schismatics ; who began to appear towards the end of the ninth century ; and, before the conclusion of the following, had made themselves masters of some of the finest provinces of Babylonian Irak. About the year 930, after ravaging the territory of Mecca, plundering the city, defiling the temple, and destroying near 40,000 people ; their prince,

could be more proper, than the regard shewn to the supposed good wishes of a princess ; whose wishes were esteemed equal to commands. But I must confess, when a regard of this sort is extended to hanging or drowning, or to breaking one's neck, it seems to be carried rather too far. And whatever sense of duty a person may entertain, yet I should imagine, that he would think twice, before he implicitly obeyed : for a leap down a precipice is no jesting matter. In good truth, if I may be allowed to speak freely, histories of this sort are very little superior to those of that respectable lady, Mother Goose. On this account, I should imagine, that in your future publications they had better be omitted, lest the Persians should be esteemed as great fablers as the Greeks."

Abu Thaher, had the boldness to appear before Baghdad with only 500 horse. The Khalif's general marched out to seize him at the head of 30,000 men: but before he attacked him, he sent an officer to summon him to surrender. "How many men has the Khalif's general?" says Abu Thaher. "Thirty thousand," answers the officer. "Amongst them all," returns the Carmathian chief, "has he got three like mine?" Ordering his followers then to approach, he commanded one to stab himself, a second to throw himself from an eminence, and a third to leap into the Tigris. He was instantly obeyed, and all of them perished. Then turning to the officer; "He that has such troops values not the number of his enemies." And indeed those determined men, surprized that night the Khalif's army; who, over confident in their numbers, kept no guard, and observed no precautions. Numbers were slain; the rest dispersed; and the General falling alive into the hands of Abu Thaher, he chained him amongst his dogs.

THERE is not a historian of the Cruzades, European, or Asiatic, who does not mention the *Sheikhu'l'jebel*, or the *Old Man of the Mountain*. This was a name given to a dy-

nafty of Princes, who reigned in Perfian Irak from about the year 1090 till 1255. The fubjects of thofe chiefs were fo entirely devoted to them, that they put themfelves to death, like the Carmathians, without the leaft hesitation: an inftance of which, fimilar to the former, is related by feveral Moham- medan writers. When *Haffan Sabah* *, the founder of this dynasty, had become formid- able, the Sultan Malekfhah Jelaleddin, Emi- ru'l'omra to the Khalif of Baghdad, fent an embaffador to require his fubmiffion. Haffan, without making an immediate reply, defired one of his attendants to poignard himfelf; and another to leap from the battlements of the tower. He was immediately obeyed: when turning to the embaffador, “ Seventy “ thoufand are thus attentive to my com- “ mands. Let this be my anfwer.”

THESE chiefs, from the devoted enthu- fiasm of their followers, became the terror of all the neighbouring princes; whom they laid under contribution: for death was gene- rally the confequence of their difpleafure. Their fubjects would affume any difguife, and penetrate into any place, fearlefs of the con-

* From the name of *Haffan*, it is poffible the word *Affassin* may be derived.

sequences, provided they could succeed in the murder they were sent to execute. Amongst many great men who fell by these assassins, were Amer Billah Khalif of Egypt, Mostarshed Khalif of Baghdad, and the Vizir Nezam ul Mulk, whom I have so often mentioned. The great Saladin very narrowly escaped. He was attacked by three of them in his tent, and was wounded; but having great strength of arm, he seized them, and, calling to his guards, they were soon dispatched.^s

THE murder of the Marquis of Montferat, by two of those men, makes a great figure in the history of the Cruzades. They had disguised themselves like Christian Monks, and stabbed him in the streets of Tyre, when returning from dining with the Bishop of Beauvais. They were immediately seized; and put to the most excruciating torture: but they suffered death without making any confession. As our Richard I. was then at open variance with the Marquis, the suspicion of many of the Princes of the Crusade fell heavy upon him; which reaching the ears of the Old Man of the Mountain, he addressed the following curious letter to Leopold Duke of Austria.^h

*To Leopold Duke of Austria, the Ancient of
the Mountain wisheth health.*

“ SINCE many kings and princes beyond
“ seas, blame Richard King and Lord of
“ England, concerning the death of the Mar-
“ quis of Montferrat, I swear by the eternal
“ God, and by the law which we hold, that
“ Richard is no way to blame in this respect,
“ and that the death of the Marquis hap-
“ pened as follows.

“ ONE of our brotherhood was coming in
“ a ship from Saltelia to our territories, and
“ happened to be forced into Tyre in a storm.
“ Upon this, the Marquis ordered him to be
“ put to death, and then he seized all his
“ money. Thereupon we sent our ambassa-
“ dors to the Marquis, with orders to de-
“ mand the money of our brother, and sa-
“ tisfaction for his death, which he laid upon
“ Reginald the prince of Sidon; whereas we
“ had informed ourselves by friends, whom
“ we could trust, that the Marquis himself
“ had ordered the murder to be committed,
“ and the money to be taken away.

“ WE therefore sent another ambassador,
“ and him he was going to throw into the
“ sea; but our friends hurrying him out of
“ Tyre, he came back to us in all haste, and

“ told us how he had been treated. We,
“ from that hour, determined to kill the
“ Marquis, and we sent two of our bre-
“ thren, for that purpose, to Tyre, who
“ killed him openly, almost in the sight of
“ all the people of that city.

“ SUCH were our motives for the death of
“ the Marquis: and we assure you, with
“ great truth, that Richard king of Eng-
“ land, was no ways blameable for the death
“ of that Marquis; and they who have done
“ harm to Richard on that account, do it
“ without justice, and without reason.

“ BE assured, we will kill no man, in this
“ world, for reward, or for money, unless
“ he first injure us.”

THE examples which might be brought of the desperate obedience of those men are innumerable. Almost every Eastern potentate, in self-preservation, found himself under the necessity of making magnificent presents to the Sheikhu'l'jebel. The knights Hospitallers and Templars alone set him at defiance; and even compelled him in turn to pay to them an annual tribute: for he well knew, that those republican orders could never want a head; and that the assassination of one or more Grand Masters might serve only to ex-

asperate, without weakening, those formidable bodies. ¹

YET it may be observed, that the importance of those princes could never have rested alone upon their own strength. Devoted and fearless as their subjects might be, the power of many of the neighbouring potentates could soon have crushed them. But their private views, jealousies and resentments, seem to have operated with them in a manner nearly similar to that which has long actuated the states of Europe; and given a consequence to the Barbary pirates, to which their own force alone could never have afforded them the least pretensions. Even Saladin, who, in revenge for their attempt upon his life, laid waste the country, and demolished the capital of the assassins, was induced, from some personal consideration, not only to pardon, but even to protect them. And they subsisted with more or less power, till the year 1255, when they were exterminated by the Tartar prince Houlagou, grandson of Jengiz Khan. A few, however, who had been trained up in the trade of murder, escaped the general ruin * :

* Some of the Assassins, who fled from the sword of Houlagou, established themselves in the province of Mazenderan on the Caspian sea; where they were destroyed by Tamerlane towards the end of the fourteenth century.

for in the year 1271, our Edward I. who had taken the cross whilst heir-apparent, was dangerously wounded by one of those wretches in his own apartments at Acon. The assassin, it was supposed, had been hired by the Mohammedan governor of Joppa, by whom he was sent to Edward, under pretence of negotiating a truce: in consequence of which, having free access to the Prince's person, he suddenly assaulted him, and stabbed him on the shoulder: but Edward grappling with the villain, threw him down, and dispatched him with his own dagger. *

THESE few facts, of undoubted authority, will, I flatter myself, bring sufficiently within the line of probability The Mistaken Obedience of the Arabian Envoy: and satisfy, at the same time, the learned critic, that Epictetus was right, when he said, that every thing had two handles: one, by which it might be held; the other, by which it could not. Now, though the facetious gentleman has shown us, that he understands perfectly well, *rifu quaterere populum*; yet as he possesses also the happy talent of sometimes agreeably mistaking the right handle, the old philosopher's advice might perhaps be worth attending to, *Τελως μη πολυς εσω, μηδε επι πολλοις, μηδε ανειμενος — ολιγοτηρος γαρ ο τροπος εις ιδιωτισμον.*

S E C T. IV.

Freedom of speech in the East. Instances of the deference of Asiatic princes to the complaints of their humblest subjects. Anecdote of Sultan Mahmoud. Destruction of a gang of dangerous banditti. Anecdotes of the Khalif Haron Arrashid. The barbarity of this prince to his sister and Vizir. The undaunted gratefulness of an old man. Anecdotes of Hejjaje, an Arabian governor. Veneration for ideots in the East. Probable origin of Royal Jesters.

THOUGH the system of Eastern government vests, too often, the almost unlimited use and abuse of power, in the hands of men, whose frantic caprice is a dreadful satire upon human nature; we, nevertheless, frequently discover, among the princes of Asia, not only an uncommon deference to the complaints of their subjects; but many instances where the most ferocious tyrants have borne, without resentment, the se-

verest truths and the keenest farcasms, when delivered with a bold spirit and a ready wit. As a kind of counterpart to the preceding section, I shall conclude this chapter, with a few miscellaneous anecdotes on this head, without much attention to connection of subject, or chronological order. *

THE great desert of Naubendigan, which stretches between Persia Proper and Khorassan, had long been infested by banditti, who robbed the Caravans, and murdered the merchants. About the beginning of the eleventh century, soon after Persia had been conquered by Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghezna, a Caravan was plundered; and, amongst those who fell, was the son of a widow. The poor woman immediately set out for Ghezna, and demanded justice of the Sultan for the life of her son. Mahmoud heard her complaint with attention; and then told her, that Irac being far removed from his seat of government, it was impossible to remedy every disorder which might happen at such a distance. “Why
 “ then, says the widow, dost thou conquer
 “ more than thou canst govern? Will not
 “ an account of this be required of thee at
 “ the day of judgment?” Struck with the justice of the widow’s reply, Mahmoud was

not offended. He made her, on the contrary, rich presents, and promised her speedy justice. He hastened immediately to Isphahan, and issued a proclamation, promising security, in person and property, to all travellers through the desert. Many merchants flocked, in consequence, to Isphahan: but when the caravan was ready to depart, they were surprized to find only a hundred soldiers appointed for their guard. They represented to the King, that the robbers were so numerous and so bold, that a thousand would be quite insufficient. He knew however the measures he had taken, and desired them to depart, with assurance of perfect safety. The Sultan had, in the mean time, privately ordered a number of hampers of most choice fruits to be poisoned, and gave orders to the commander of the guard to halt in a certain place, where the banditti generally made their attack; and there to unload the fruits, under pretence of drying them in the sun. This was done: and the robbers soon appearing, the guard, as they were ordered, fled. As nothing, in those scorching deserts, could be more tempting than such cool and delicious fruits, the thieves knowing that the caravan might be soon overtaken, allowed them to move on; and devoured the fruits, with so little moderation

or caution, that, before they could discover the poison, it began to operate ; and all of them perished on the spot. ^b

THE Khalif Haron Arrashid was accosted one day by a poor woman, who complained, that his soldiers had pillaged her house, and laid waste her grounds. The Khalif desired her to recollect the words of the Alcoran, “ That when princes go forth to battle, the
“ people through whose fields they pass must
“ suffer.”—“ Yes, says the woman ; but it
“ is also written in the same book, that the
“ habitations of those princes, who autho-
“ rize injustice, shall be made desolate.” This bold and just reply had a powerful effect upon the Khalif ; who ordered immediate and ample reparation to be made. ^c

ARRASHID was undoubtedly one of the greatest princes that ever reigned ; and his temper was in general merciful and generous. But one action of dreadful and unrelenting cruelty must ever remain an indelible stain upon his memory. Giaffar his Vizir, of the noble family of Bermeki, was esteemed the most eloquent orator, the best writer, and the finest gentleman in the empire. The Khalif delighted in his company, and made him a partner in all the amusements

of his leisure hours. That prince had, at the same time, an amiable and accomplished sister named Abassa; in whose conversation he took also uncommon pleasure. The company of his favourites, the Khalif wished to enjoy together. But this the etiquette of Eastern courts denied; as nothing but an alliance with the royal family could give Giaffar the privilege of entering the inner apartments. To remove this obstacle, Arrashid had recourse to a singular expedient. He gave Abassa to Giaffar in marriage, but strictly enjoined him never to approach her but in his presence. Under this painful restraint they for some time lived. But nature at length proved too powerful for the Khalif's commands. They deceived his vigilance: and Abassa became with child. She was delivered without discovery: but, being betrayed by a female slave, she was driven, with ignominy, from the royal palace; and reduced to wander, in the most wretched attire, to beg the precarious charity of the meanest subject of her stern and unrelenting brother. Giaffar was beheaded. His family, his dependents, his domestics, were imprisoned, butchered, and proscribed: and death was denounced against every person, who even dared to mention the family name. Yet, such was the veneration in

which the generous Bermicedes had been held by all ranks, that, absolute as the Khalif was, his commands were here disregarded. An old man in particular, named Mondir, who, during their prosperity, had received from them many favours, went every day to the deserted dwelling of the unhappy Giaffar; where, from a mound of ruins, he expatiated to thousands of grateful hearers, on the virtues and beneficence of those illustrious men. The Khalif, in a rage, ordered at last Mondir to be brought before him, and condemned him to instant death. The old man did not complain of the sentence: he begged only to speak a few words before he died. The Khalif consented: when Mondir made no apology; he promised no change of sentiments; and he asked not for mercy. But he enlarged upon the benevolence of those unfortunate noblemen, with such pathetic eloquence, that even the Khalif was touched at length; and he not only pardoned the old man, but gave him a golden plate, which was placed before him: on receiving of which, Mondir, prostrating himself before the Khalif, “Behold, says he, even in this, a
“new favour from the noble Bermicedes.”^d

HEJJAJE was an Arabian of distinction,

remarkable for military abilities, eloquence, and cruelty. He was governor of Arabia and of Babylonian Irak, towards the end of the seventh century: and he ruled with almost independent power. So great was his severity, that he is said to have put to death 120,000 people; and to have had 50,000 more in his prisons when he died. Yet many stories are told of him, which, tyrant as he was, shew that he could easily forgive a freedom of speech, if accompanied with spirit, naïveté, or wit. Having lost his attendants one day at the chace, he met an Arab pasturing his camels, and begged of him a little water. “If you want water, said the Arab furlily, draw it for yourself; for I am neither your companion nor your slave.” The governor accordingly alighted; and having satisfied his thirst, entered into conversation with a man, whose humour he thought singular. Among other questions, he asked him what opinion he entertained of the Khalif. “I think, says the Arab, that he is a very wicked prince.” — “Why?” — “Because he has sent us Hejjaje, the most execrable governor under heaven.” The governor was silent; but, his attendants soon after appearing, he ordered them to bring the Arab along with them. Next day he seated him with him at

table, and desired him to eat freely. “ God
“ send, says the Arab, the end of the repast
“ may be no worse than the beginning.”—
“ Do you recollect, says the governor, what
“ you said yesterday ?”—“ Yes, yes, replies
“ the Arab, May God prosper you in all
“ things ; but as for the secret of yesterday,
“ take you good care not to divulge it to
“ day.”—“ Well then I will not ; but of
“ two things you must chuse : either to ac-
“ knowledge me as your master, and I will
“ retain you in my service ; or I will send
“ you to the Khalif, and inform him of your
“ speech.”—“ There is a third course, re-
“ joins the Arab, which is worth them
“ both.”—“ What is that ?”—“ Send me
“ home, and pray God, that we may never
“ see one another more.” The governor
smiled at the blunt humour of the man ; and
dismissed him agreeable to his wish, with a
present of a thousand dirhems. — Informers
having told Hejjaje, that Ziad, a man of
rank, had publicly and vehemently exclaimed
against his proceedings, he immediately or-
dered him to be seized ; and demanded whe-
ther he had not, in a certain garden, wished
that God might turn his face black, that his
head were struck off, and his blood spilt.
“ Those, says Ziad, who have repeated my

“ words, have been very exact : but they
 “ should have told you also, that I was then
 “ under an arbor, admiring some excellent
 “ grapes, which were not ripe : so I wished
 “ them instantly black in the face, that I
 “ might cut off their heads, and shed the
 “ blood of the vine.” The ingenuity of the
 turn, so much pleased the governor, that, in-
 stead of dooming him to death, as he pur-
 posed, he took him immediately into favour.
 —Having quelled a rebellion, the governor
 had ordered the chiefs to be put to the sword ;
 when one of them cried out, “ Hejjaje, I
 “ appeal to your justice.” — “ Upon what
 “ ground ?” — “ Our general having one day
 “ reviled you, I told him he did wrong.” —
 “ Have you any witnesses of this ?” — “ I
 “ have,” pointing to one of his condemned
 companions. — “ Is it true ?” says the gover-
 nor, addressing himself to the officer appealed
 to. — “ It is,” replied he. — “ And why did
 “ not you do as much as that man ?” —
 “ Because, returned he fiercely, you were mine
 “ enemy.” — Hejjaje, instead of resenting this
 boldness, pardoned both : the one, to ac-
 knowledge the obligation : the other, for the
 undauntedness with which he had spoken the
 truth. — The rigour of this governor, whose
 humour was in general his only rule of con-

duct, is sufficiently evident from the numbers he destroyed : and it is difficult to read the history of such men, without execrating a system of government, which could thus expose the lives and properties of subjects, unprotected by fixed laws, to the wanton phrenzy of an unfeeling despot. Yet the manners of the times may furnish, perhaps, some apology for barbarities which strike the humane with horror. Hear, upon this head, the sentiments of this haughty chief. Loud complaints having gone abroad of his violence, he assembled the people ; and, mounting his tribunal, he thus harangued them :
“ God has now given me dominion over you.
“ If I exercise it with severity, think not,
“ when I am gone, that your condition will
“ be mended. As you live, you ought ever
“ to be crushed : for God has many servants :
“ and, when I am no more, another will
“ come, who may execute his orders still
“ more sternly. If you wish your governors
“ to be moderate and merciful, be ye just,
“ and obey their commands. Your own conduct must be the basis of your good or bad
“ treatment. A prince may be compared to
“ a mirror. All that is seen in him is merely the reflexion of surrounding objects. If

“ you are virtuous, he will be mild. If you
 “ are corrupted, he must be a scourge.”

TAMERLANE, whose common saying it was, that a sovereign could never be safe upon his throne, unless it was surrounded with blood : who could, with indifference, make pyramids of heads ; and bake thousands alive in a mud pye, or pound them in a mortar : this Tamerlane could yet listen, without resentment, to the raillery of poets, the censure of the learned, and the personal insults of real or pretended fools. To the circumstances which I have mentioned in the former part of this dissertation (p. 192, &c.) many might be added : but I shall only now observe, that the superstitious respect which Eastern people have entertained for ideots, is wonderful. Their sayings have been considered as bordering upon inspiration ; and, in this idea, they have been indulged with an uncommon freedom of satirical licence. This singular degree of veneration which has been shewn for natural ideots, might often, we may easily believe, induce artful men to counterfeit folly ; either to advance their fortunes, or, to give them the power of speaking freely their sentiments, with impunity. And, to this cause, I think, it is not unnatural to trace the ori-

gin of Royal Jesters. At what period the King's fool was introduced into European courts, it is not material at present to enquire: but we find him in the East in the eighth century; and he was probably much older. At the court of the Khalif Arrashid there was one named Bahalul Almejnoun; some of whose sayings have been preserved. He appears to have possessed vivacity, wit, and observation; and he was permitted to take every kind of licence with the Khalif and his courtiers. "I wish, says Arrashid to him
"one day, you could procure me a list of all
"the fools in Baghdad."—"That would be
"difficult, Commander of the Faithful; but
"if you desire to know the wise men, the
"catalogue may be soon completed."—A courtier telling him, that the Khalif had given him the charge of all the bears, wolves, foxes, and monkeys in his dominions; "The
"Commander of the Faithful has given me
"then a very extensive charge: for it com-
"prehends his whole empire; and you are
"one of my subjects."—Entering one day into the presence-chamber, and finding the throne empty, he seated himself on it: when the officers in waiting perceiving him, pulled him down, and bastinadoed him out of the hall. Bahalul fell a-crying; and the Khalif,

soon after appearing, enquired into the matter. The officers told him, that it was on account of a few blows he had received for his insolence. “No, says the fool, my complainings arise not from the blows: they are caused by my compassion for the Commander of the Faithful: for if I have received so many bastinadoes for sitting upon that throne but for one minute in my life, how many should he endure, who mounts it every day?”

A REAL or affected fool, during the reign of this prince, had the presumption to call himself God Almighty. The Khalif thinking him an impostor, ordered him to be brought before him; and, that he might discover the truth, he said to him; “A fellow the other day, who assumed the manners of an ideot, pretended to be a prophet of God. I had him immediately tried, when his imposture appearing evident, I commanded his head to be struck off.”—“You did right, replied the fool, and like a faithful servant of mine; for I never gave that fellow a commission to be my prophet.” The ready coolness of the answer left the Khalif at a loss how to decide: he inclined therefore to the merciful side: and the fool was dismissed.

WHEN Mahmoud Sultan of Ghezna conquered India, he had distressed the people greatly by plundering, as well as by the contributions and taxes which he imposed. Whilst he was one day sitting in his Divan, in conversation with his nobles, a fool wandered into the hall; and, staring wildly around, spoke much to himself, but took no particular notice of any person. The prince observing him, desired his officers to ask him what he wanted. He said, that he was hungry; and wished, of all things, to eat a roasted sheep's tail. The Sultan, in a frolic, ordered them to cause a particular kind of radish to be roasted, much resembling in shape those tails, which in several Eastern countries are very fat, and of an extraordinary size. It was accordingly presented to the fool, who devoured it voraciously. The Sultan then asked him, how he liked it: to which he answered, "That it
" was exceedingly well dressed; but he could
" easily perceive, that, under his government,
" the sheeps tails had no longer the fatness,
" nor the excellent flavour, for which they
" were famous in former times." — Mahmoud felt the poignancy of the answer; and gave immediate orders to relieve the people of many burthens under which they groaned. Eccentric sayings indeed from eccentric men,

we shall often find, will more powerfully influence a haughty prince, than the most serious remonstrances of his ministers, or the loudest murmurings of his people. ^b

THE bounds of my volume, and an attention to more important engagements, make me here take leave of these subjects; which to some indeed may possibly appear trifling. Yet, from such slight observances, we shall often judge more truly of the genius of a people, than from more solid objects: for, as Selden justly remarks, if we throw a straw into the air, we may easily see how the wind fits; which we shall not do by casting up a stone. ⁱ

CHAPTER II.

SECT. I.

*Reasons for the Remarks in the preceding sheets.
Introduction to a further examination of Mr.
Bryant's Mythology.*

IT was an excellent maxim, which Lord Bacon, Mr. Boyle, and other philosophers successfully adopted, not only to promote science by experiments and other modes of convincing proof; but to throw out conjectures upon such speculative points, as they had not sufficient opportunities or leisure to investigate fully: with the view that those conjectures, properly pursued by men of reflexion, might lead in time to some important discovery. †

† To some obscure hints upon *Attraction*, thrown out by Lord Bacon, the world is, in a great measure, indebted for the great *Newtonian System*.

It was in imitation of those great men, that I have, in the preceding sheets, hazarded some loose thoughts on several subjects, which to me appeared to be either new, or capable of being placed in a new light. If founded even on mistake, I apprehended they could do no harm : but, if consistent with reason, they might tend to some improvement. As sketches only they were designed ; and merely as such I wish them to be considered. The variety of topics, upon which I have touched, and the limits to which I was necessarily confined, were by no means calculated for deep criticism, or extensive enquiry. Such indeed was never my intention. My abilities, a few weeks, and a few pages, could not allow me to entertain the idea. My chief object was to assist students in Eastern tongues, with such remarks as came within my line of observation : my next, to remove, if I could, the prejudices of the learned, by pointing to lights, which Eastern erudition, judiciously applied, might possibly throw upon many branches of useful knowledge. *

BUT I soon perceived, that this secondary object could not suddenly meet with success. I discovered, that there were fashions in literature, as well as fashions in dress : that some led the taste : that many followed implicitly

their opinions : and that few cared to be singularly conspicuous in deviating from the received mode. When a writer high in the *ton* pronounces boldly his opinion, it becomes immediately a kind of watch-word. It flies wide abroad : the echo reverberates from every quarter : and, as a polite writer * justly observes, “ A lucky word in a verse, which
 “ sounds well, and every body gets by heart,
 “ goes further than a volume of just criticism.” Boileau happened to say something of the *Clinquant* of *Tasso* and of *Virgil’s gold* ; and the magic of the line overturned at once the solid and well built reputation of the Italian poets. †

Now, though I cannot find out, how the excellence of one class of writers can be injured by the excellence of another ; yet the bare suspicion of merit in Eastern authors seems to be viewed as high treason against the majesty of Grecian learning. The courtly writer of the *New System of Ancient Mythology* has said, that it is in vain to look into them for information : he has likened their histories to the *Tales of Mother Goose* § : he has

* Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, on *Chivalry and Romance*, p. 84.

§ This watch-word has already got abroad. See what

adopted the maxim, *De railler d'un plaisant qui ne sait pas nous plaire*: and, with nearly the same knowledge of those writers, which another ingenious gentleman had of Strabo and Plutarch, he seems to sing, with him,

Your Straw-boys, and Blue-turks, and such sort of stuff!

Egad, I don't value them one pinch of snuff.

Peremptory indeed are the decisions of this learned gentleman, upon every ground. But as I have of late seen much reason to suspect mere assertions; and to think, that an undistinguishing deference for high authorities has ever tended to propagate error, to damp discovery, and to check improvement in every science: I have freely differed from him, and from many able men; wherever I have seen cause, or found arguments to support my opinions. ^d

To counteract, in some measure, the *Clinquant* of so great a writer, I had, in the for-

it is to be a writer of *ton*! The authors of the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1778, after a short but polite review of my Dissertation, come in upon me at the end with —
 “As to the marvellous stories he relates, they seem truly
 “Persian or Arabian tales; and, to speak freely, (as Mr.
 “Bryant says) are very little superior to those of that re-
 “spectable lady Mother Goose.” — *Ah! vraiment, que ce
 meme Monsieur Bryant est un fort mauvais plaisant!*

mer part of my Dissertation, attacked his *Radicals* ; I had glanced at his *System* ; and I had endeavoured to show, how doubtfully qualified he was to judge of the point in question. This, it is true, has somewhat ruffled him : but he tries to carry it handsomely. He is indeed a merry man. Another merry man, in a periodical publication, has already said so ; and it must be true||. Yet the learned gentleman is sometimes a little sad or so. Something like an April day : now raining, now shining : laughing with one eye and crying with the other. He seems to wonder much what I had to do with his *System* : and, if he had given me a few good reasons, I should perhaps have wondered too. I wish he had prefixed, to his book, the patent which gives him the exclusive privilege of differing in opinion from all the world. For, I was really mistaken enough to suppose, that the right, which I had to dissent from him, was precisely equal to the right which I had to dissent from a Newton or a Montesquieu : and I supposed it to be precisely equal to that right, which the

|| After indulging, says this other man of humour, a vein of pleasantry which one would not have expected from the author of the *Analysis*. — Gentleman's Magazine for May 1778, p. 213.

learned gentleman himself has, with equal freedom, and more triumph, exercised in condemning the systems of a Pezron, of a Wise, and of other ingenious men. °

THAT the *Mythology* stood more in the fore ground of my Dissertation, arose entirely from the nature of the work. The learned author had, *en clinquant*, depreciated without reason, and without knowledge, languages which I thought it just to support. He had framed a *System*, which had in contemplation vast objects indeed. It was described as *the basis of history ; the standard of criticism ; and the guide to the studies of youth* †. The dark labyrinth of the early ages was his object of research ; and etymological analysis his great clue of conduct. His scene of action lay chiefly on Asiatic ground ; yet Asiatic languages he affected to despise. He substituted definitions, which no man ever knew ; and he sheltered himself behind the visionary shade of an inexistent tongue. — Yet in those neglected languages, I fancied there were significations expressive and unforced, which might illustrate remote antiquity. I fancied there were many, which, better than those he had chosen, might have enlightened the darkness

† *Mythology*, Vol. III. Pref. p. vi. &c.

of his ingenious System : and I fancied there could be no impropriety in submitting such definitions for public approbation or censure. ^f

ALL this has much hurt the learned author. He has addressed to me *An Apology* †; where I am accused of misunderstanding his plan. He has said that I had not read his book ; and he has challenged me to a deeper investigation. I wish then to convince him that I have read his book : and it is possible he now may think too much. I have been led to consider his *System*, at large, with more attention : and what before seemed to be merely *improbable*, I now conceive, upon his own grounds, to be irreconcilable with the Sacred Writings ; to be unsupported by reason ; to be inconsistent with itself. In a word, to be *impossible*. ^g

To support these positions I now proceed. And, as I wish to address myself to the common sense of general readers, whose line of study may not have led them to Oriental pur-

† This *Apology* was never published : it was whispered abroad : and was perhaps not intended for my inspection. Accident alone informed me of it's existence : and to the politeness of our much respected Vice Chancellor and Dr. Kennicott, I was indebted for the perusal. This is a new mode of *apologizing*. — There is certainly *humour* in this learned gentleman.

suits, I shall arrange my observations under different heads, that the chief lines of evidence may not be intersected and obscured by such etymological disquisitions, as some part of the subject may still require.^b

S E C T. II.

Inconsistency in the Chronology of the Analysis.

AS chronological accuracy ought ever to form the ground-work of every rational historical deduction, it should apparently have been an object of peculiar attention in the construction of a *System*, which was to reform all former systems; to render superfluous every future system; and to clear up the perplexing difficulties, which had long embarrassed our greatest men in the chronological line. But this, I am apprehensive, is rather to be wished for, than to be found, in the *New Analysis of Ancient Mythology*.^a

To pave the way for the expedition of his *Cuthites*, two great eras ought to have been studied with care. I mean those of the *Uni-*

versal Deluge, and of the *Division of the Earth* among the posterity of Noah. As we can have no *true* lights to guide us to those great events, but the Books of Moses, it cannot be improper to enquire how far, with regard to these, the principles of the *Analysis* are just. And here it may be necessary to premise, as the learned gentleman does not appear to have sufficiently attended to circumstances of so much consequence to his hypothesis, That two systems of Chronology have, for a long time, chiefly divided the attention of the Christian world: the Patriarchal Genealogies, according to the Hebrew Bible; and those adopted by the Septuagint. It is foreign to the present question, to enter into the discussion of a subject, on which so many learned men have differed: but, as the Hebrew, from which our translation is made, has long been almost generally received into common use, it seems to be incumbent upon every writer, who chuses to depart from that system, to assign his reasons, and to inform his readers, upon what canons he proposes to proceed. This however the learned gentleman has not done: neither has he adhered to any regular standard. He has taken the range of many volumes: and his extracts are copious. But their jarring chronologies he seems

to have followed without reflexion ; and to have involved himself in a labyrinth of perplexity, which makes him at variance with the Bible, with its versions, and with himself. By the Hebrew Bible, the Deluge happened in the year of the Creation 1656 : by the Septuagint, in 2262 : and both agree in fixing the Division of the Earth to the days of Peleg. *

THE *Migration* of the posterity of Noah to the different regions assigned to them by divine appointment, the learned gentleman labours to prove, as the leading point of his *System*, to have been an event prior to the *Babel Dispersion*. And this Migration, on the authority of Eusebius, he has placed in the year of the world 2672, when Noah was 930 years old. But in another place, transcribing from Epiphanius, he supposes Noah to have resided with his posterity, before the Migration 659 years, in the neighbourhood of Mount Ararat, where the ark is said to have rested after the Deluge *. These facts and dates he considers as undisputed ; he reasons from them, and makes them the groundwork of his subsequent positions. *

* Mr. Bryant, after observing that the distribution of the earth was by divine appointment, quotes the following words of Eusebius, “ The distribution of the earth

Now let us try their validity. And first, by the chronology of the Hebrew Bible. The Flood, as before observed, happened in the year 1656 : Noah, being then 600 years of

“ happened in *the two thousand six hundred and seventy-second*
 “ year of the creation, and in the *nine hundred and thir-*
 “ *tieth* year of the Patriarch’s life. Then it was that
 “ Noah, by divine appointment, divided the world be-
 “ tween his three sons.”—The like is found, he adds, in Syncellus, Epiphanius, and other writers.—Many of the Fathers, says Mr. Bryant afterwards, were of opinion, that they (the posterity of Noah) did not for some ages quit this region. According to Epiphanius, they remained in the vicinity of Ararat for five generations, during the space of *six hundred and fifty-nine years*. “ After
 “ the ark, upon the decrease of the waters, had rested up-
 “ on the mountains of Ararat, upon that particular emi-
 “ nence called Lubar, which bounds the countries of
 “ the Armenians and Cardueans ; the region where it
 “ settled became the first place occupied by mankind.
 “ Here the Patriarch Noah took up his residence, and
 “ planted the vine. In this place he saw a large progeny
 “ descend from him, children after children—to the fifth
 “ generation, for the space of six hundred and fifty-nine
 “ years.”—As the learned gentleman has been at much pains to shew, that these Fathers were very wrong, in many points of less importance, it is wonderful he did not question them, upon the very ground-work of his *System*. Vid. *Mythology* Vol. III. p. 15. 22. Euseb. *Chron.* p. 10. Syncel. p. 89. Epiphan. l. 2. t. 2. p. 703. l. 1. p. 5 and 6.

age. He lived afterwards 350 years, and died in the year 2006. Peleg, in whose days the earth is declared by Moses to have been divided, was born in the year 1757; and died in 1996. But, according to the calculations adopted by the learned gentleman, the *Division*, instead of being in the lifetime of those two patriarchs, could not take place till 666 years after the death of Noah; and 676 after the death of Peleg. Whilst, in the other passage, as quoted from Epiphanius, a still greater impossibility is supposed: for Noah is there said to have been alive 659 years after the deluge; which would not only postpone the Migration 249 years later than 2672, which he had already determined upon, but extend Noah's life to 1259 years; although every concurring authority makes the sum of his age to have been only 950. ^d

LET us now consider these positions by the Septuagint chronology. Noah, at the era of the flood, which is fixed by the chief copies of that version to the year 2262, was, as above noticed, 600 years old: to which, if we add the 350 years he lived after it, he must have died in the year 2612, sixty years before the migration, instead of being alive twenty years afterwards. Whilst Peleg, not

having been born, agreeable to the Septuagint, till the year 2794, the Migration, according to the date the learned gentleman has followed, must have taken place 122 years before his existence. ^e

BUT, however inconsistent he might have been with all the chronologies of the Sacred Writings; a conformity with himself might perhaps have been expected. But even this we do not find. I have neither time, inclination, nor room, to dwell upon many points. I shall only mention one. In his investigation of the Egyptian Dynasties, he places the Exodus of the children of Israel, in the year before Christ 1494; (which is within about two years of our Bible chronology): their residence in Egypt he computes at 215 years: the Shepherd kings, whom he supposes to be *Cuthites*, ruled over Egypt 259 years; and were expelled 37 years before the settlement of Jacob and his sons. Now if these sums are added together, the *Cuthite* Invasion must have been 2005 years before Christ; or (as he here goes by the Hebrew chronology) in the year of the world 1999; which is no fewer than 673 years before he, in another place, makes them, or any of the sons of Noah, to have moved from the spot where the ark rested after the flood. So that the

three great objects of this elaborate work ; the *Deluge*, the *Migration*, and the *expeditions of the sons of Chus*, are left, in a point of such importance as time, so wholly unsettled, as to vary in every circumstance : and to differ, in some, near 800 years.^f

To borrow a favourite word from the learned gentleman, there is something *chaotic* in all this. — Will he allow me to suppose any writer of general history to have dated one fact by the Olympiads ; another by the the era of Nabonassar ; and a third by the epoch of the Seleucidæ ? should we in another place find, according to the authors from whom he had transcribed, the Christian, the Dioclesian, and the Mohammedan eras, promiscuously followed, without specification or arrangement : what opinion would the learned gentleman entertain of that writer's accuracy ? What judgment would he form of his authenticity, even in facts he could not disprove ? — He might indeed give him credit as a very ingenious compiler : he might possibly admire his fancy for the marvellous : but whilst his eras were thus a-dancing the hays, I am much afraid he would think rather irreverently of his authority ; and look upon him as a merry man, should he gravely

tell us, *that his Book was to be the basis of History, the standard of criticism, and the guide to the studies of youth.*^s

S E C T. III.

*Of Mr. Bryant's Theory of the Dispersion;
and of the expeditions of the Sons of Chus,*

IN the former part of this Dissertation, (p. 110) I have observed, that the Sacred Writings afford no light to trace the wanderings of the Cuthites : and Mr. Bryant, in his *Apology*, expresses much surprize at this opinion †. But as he has produced no arguments to shake it, I shall endeavour not only

† The basis of his hypothesis he pretends to find in the following words : “ It is said by Moses, that Chus begat
“ several children, and among them Nimrod, who built
“ Babel. And it is farther said, that those, who built
“ Babel, *the friends and associates of Nimrod*, were dispersed.” *Apology*, p. 79. In respect to this, I shall only beg leave to know in what part of the Sacred Writings the words in Italics are to be found. The rest will not in the least support his System.

to defend what I have already said ; but to show, that his doctrine of the Dispersion has no foundation in history or reason : that it is in opposition to Scripture : and destructive even of the system he proposes to support. *

PREPARATORY to the great part which he makes the Cuthites play upon the theatre of the world, there are a chain of leading circumstances, taken for facts, which are precisely the very points that require most of all to be demonstrated. For the least failure in the truth of one link destroys the reasoning ; confounds the subsequent events ; and leaves the whole a complete fable. †

1. THE General Division of the earth, he says, was distinct from and prior to the Babel Dispersion (Mythol. Vol. III. p. 18. et seq.).

2. That, at the general Migration, Shem and Japhet departed immediately from Ararat, for the regions allotted to them : but the line of Ham, and particularly the sons of Chus, rebelling against the divine appointment, remained for some time behind : and, then marching off under Nimrod, took a circuit towards Chaldea ; from whence they forcibly ejected Ashur (ib. p. 17. 22. et seq.) 3. That this body, under Nimrod, were those who (Gen. ch. xi.) are said to have journeyed from the East to the Plain of Shinar : that they

were the builders of the Tower: and that they were the only objects of the Dispersion (ib. p. 23. 26. &c.) ‘

As it is immaterial to the present disquisition, to enquire how far the first position may be just or not, I shall, for the sake of argument, allow it, however uncertain, to be still possible: and proceed to consider, whether the other heads, supposing this first principle admitted, will stand the touchstone of truth or probability. ‘

Now let us suppose, with the learned gentleman, all mankind to be still in the vicinity of Mount Ararat: and the Division of the earth to have been just made by the divine appointment, agreeable to his own allotment. (Vol. III. p. 17.) “The children of Shem
“in general had Asia for their lot; and Ja-
“phet had Europe, and Ham the large con-
“tinent of Africa.” With this distribution, we are told the Cuthites were dissatisfied. They would not migrate with the other branches of Noah’s family. They wandered about, for some time, not in the route to their appointed country: and made at length a violent trespass upon the sons of Shem. But where is the least evidence of this disobedience, upon which so much is made to depend? Does Scripture, either directly, or by

implication, give it countenance? Does any authentic record of profane history assert it? And from whence indeed could such discontents arise? Africa, it may be said, is inferior to Asia and to Europe. But how could the Cuthites form the least idea of their portion till they had seen it? Whilst all mankind were still at Ararat, how was it possible for them to discover, without inspiration, what regions in the world were preferable to the rest? Egypt, and the Mediterranean coasts of Africa, are, at the same time, amongst the most delightful regions of the universe. There the first colonies of the line of Ham are supposed to have settled: and there a great superabundance of room must have still remained, for many ages after the original migration. But had these districts, on the contrary, presented nothing to the eye, but rugged rocks and parching sands, still how could this be discovered till they were seen? Before we can conceive murmurings, rebellion, and violence, even in the most degenerate times, we should naturally know for what. But here, according to the learned gentleman's own hypothesis, in the golden age of the world, whilst mankind lived under the mild rule of the great patriarch; before laws were enacted or penalties known; to suppose a set of men, stimulated neither by resentment, by oppression, nor by ambition,

perversely to resist the great designs of Omnipotence ; to reject a settlement which they did not know, but to which they had a right ; and where, as being unpossessed, they could meet with no opposition : merely to depart, by a painful route, in search of another, of which they knew as little ; to which they had no right ; and where, as being already occupied, resistance must naturally be expected from the original settlers : seems to be by much too improbable to be supported solely by conjecture. Positive proof alone ought to give such suppositions a title to our belief : but especially where they are made the basis of a System. °

ONE obstacle is *presumed*, indeed, to the migration of this family ; and some *surmises* are brought to support the *presumption*. The passers towards the South through the Gordyeen hills, he supposes, might possibly have been more difficult, than those to the East or to the West. But, allowing them for one moment to have been so, How again could the Cuthites have learnt those difficulties ? How could they know, whether there were mountains or plains, woods or deserts, rivers or seas, between them and their destined place, till they had once set out ; till they had attempted a passage ; till they had found it impracticable ; and been forced to return ? But

are those attempts or those disappointments any where related ? If not : where, but in a warm imagination, could those fancied obstacles have originated ?^f

BUT even the difficulty of this route, after all, seems founded upon no good evidence : and nothing can more clearly discover the feebleness of the supposition, than the circumstances which are advanced to give it the colour of argument. The difficulty of passing those mountains, he thinks, may be conjectured from the retreat, in after-times, of the 10,000 Greeks. But, not to enter into the minute detail of a march, which appears to have nearly as much connexion with the supposed route of the sons of Ham, as with Hannibal's passage of the Alps ; it may be just sufficient to consider, the South-west bearing of Africa from Armenia, and compare it with the course which Xenophon describes ; to be perfectly convinced, that the two routes must have cut one another nearly at right angles ; and that the point of contact must have been, of consequence, a mere spot ; a mile, half a mile, a few yards : beyond which those routes could not have one inch in common.^g

BUT could any illustration be more unsatisfactory than the above, it must, I think, be the idea which immediately follows : —

“ But in the times of which we are treat-
“ ing they must have been still more difficult
“ to be surmounted : for, after the deluge,
“ the hollows and vallies between these hills,
“ and all other mountainous places, must
“ have been full of slime and mud ; and,
“ for a great while, have abounded with stag-
“ nant waters.” (Vol. III. p. 24.) Now
had this singular surmise the least bottom,
would it not have operated equally against all
the emigrants of the other branches ? For,
to what quarter of the heavens, from Ararat,
are there not lofty mountains, divided by
lower grounds ? But again ; how long was
it after the Flood before the Migration took
place ? for the learned gentleman’s chrono-
logy leaves us too much at large to form any
precise idea. Was it 1265 years, or 1016
(by the Hebrew) ; or 659 or 410 (by the
Septuagint) ? for we are left to our con-
jecture for each of these numbers. Let us take
then the lowest. The waters of the Deluge,
which rose fifteen cubits above the highest
mountains, subsided, we are informed, in a
few months. Could so many years be neces-
sary for consolidating the mud ? Such mud,
and such waters, as were not dried up in
much less than 400 years, I am much afraid,
were never intended to be naturally dried up
till the end of time. ^h

UPON this ground however the learned gentleman rests : and conceives it to be sufficiently solid to entitle him to send the Sons of Chus by another route ; in order to make them the people who journeyed from the East to the plain of Shinar. But, however unsupported the cause may be which produces this effect, the very track by which he leads his Cuthites might, even in point of difficulty, be sufficient to overturn the reason which induces him to send them by that way. “ In respect to the Cuthites, who
 “ seem (p. 25. Vol. III.) to have been a good
 “ while in a roving state, they might possibly
 “ travel to the Pylæ Caspiæ, before they
 “ found an outlet to descend to the country
 “ specified.” And, agreeably to this idea, we have (p. 70.) a map of their supposed circuit. But the plate, though calculated entirely for the System, proves, unluckily, either by inadvertency or design, to be so much abridged, without the least apparent necessity, that the Pylæ Caspiæ are not to be found in it : and we are presented only with the departure of the Cuthites from Ararat, and their arrival in Babylonia : their intermediate course being cut off. So far, at the same time, from finding an outlet for them by the Pylæ Caspiæ, which geographers in gene-

ral consider to be Derbend; the place from whence he makes them set out, (which he supposes to be in the neighbourhood of Nakhshuvan, situated to the Northward of the Aras or Araxes) is about three degrees to the southward; and the course, which he traces on the map, proceeds, at the opening, in a south-east direction, skirting the south-west corner of the Caspian; and never again, from the nature of the track, turning to the northward. The continuation of the route from the Caspian, as I have already observed, is cut off: but, by supplying the segment of their circular course, we find them led thro' ways fully as difficult and tremendous at least as any given district of the Gordyeen hills. For, from Nakhshuvan, after passing the rapid *pontem indignans Araxes*, they must have surmounted the almost impassable chain of mountains which environ Ghilan, Mazenderan or or Tabristan; and so proceed through Persian Irak, Kuhistan, or Gebel; the very names of which are expressive of mountainous regions: and, from the concurring testimony of every historian, geographer, and traveller, are, in many places, rugged, horrible, and dangerous, even to a proverb. ⁱ

AND here I must not omit the only authority he brings (Vol. III. p. 25.) in support of

this circular route of the Cuthites. “ I was
 “ surprized, after I had formed this opinion
 “ from the natural history of the country, to
 “ find it verified by that ancient historian
 “ Berofus. He mentions the route of his
 “ countrymen from Ararat, after the Deluge;
 “ and fays, that it was not in a ftraight line:
 “ but people had been instructed *περὶ πόλιν*
 “ *eis Βαβυλωνίαν*, (which he interprets) *to*
 “ *take a circuit, and fo to descend to the regions*
 “ *of Babylon.*” The learned gentleman, we re-
 peatedly fee, can build a great deal upon very
 flender authority. But what, after all, can
 this fhred poffibly prove in fupport of his hy-
 pothesis? To go *round* to Babylonia might
 be a mere figure of fpeech. It might imply
 to the Weftward through Syria, as well as to
 the Eaftward through Perfia. It might im-
 ply a circuit of five, or of five hundred miles.
 It might be made to apply to the people of
 Shem or of Japhet, as well as to the people
 of Ham. It might, in a word, mean any
 thing; and be adapted to any fyftem. It
 might mean nothing; and never have hap-
 pened at all. *

To follow the argument, however, let us
 fuppofe the Cuthites, againft all authority and
 reafon, to have actually purfued this route:
 let us fuppofe them to have arrived at Shinar;

and to have been the actual and only builders of the Tower: but whilst they are so employed, I shall beg leave, before I proceed, to consider their supposed leader Nimrod. And here I must confess, were there even no other inconsistency, I should be much inclined to question a system, which depended so much upon a personage, whose era and history are left so uncertain as those of Nimrod. In Scripture he is only twice superficially mentioned (Gen. ch. x.—I. Chron. ch. i.); the one is but a transcript of the other; and the whole indeed is so entirely an episode, that it might with ease be omitted, without injuring in the least the Sacred Writings, where the great object is the line of Shem. The beginning of Nimrod's kingdom is said to have been Babel: but when he reigned, how long he reigned, who were his subjects, or whether his actions were good or bad, we are left entirely to conjecture. Many indeed have been the opinions of the learned: and they are almost as contradictory as they are numerous. Some consider him as a great and a good prince: some as an usurper and a tyrant. That he was a *mighty one on the earth*, and a *mighty hunter before the Lord*, is all that we learn from Moses, with regard to his character: and it is apparently torturing reason, to affix, to these expressions, meanings intrinsically vicious. That

he was an apostate from God, or a rebel against his ancestors, are mere assumptions without proof; and advanced with no other view than to support systems. Bochart says, that he rebelled against Noah, whom he deposed, and usurped the government of men. But where is the authority? Mr. Bryant bestows liberally upon him the epithets of Arch-rebel and Apostate: But where again is the authority? They are no where to be discovered in the originals, in the versions, nor in the paraphrases of the Sacred Writings.

As our learned author, to advance his system, has insisted, that the aboriginal inhabitants of Chaldea were not those who built the Tower, he has supposed that country to have been the lot of Ashur, in the subdivision of the portion of Shem: and he has supposed, as already observed, that the people who journeyed from the East were Nimrod and his Cushite tribe; by whom Ashur was forcibly expelled. But still, I am obliged to repeat, where is the authority? Moses says simply, “Out of this land went forth Ashur, and “builded Nineveh,” &c. But where are the words which imply the prior occupancy of Ashur? Where are the words which imply Expulsion? The more natural construction would suppose a mere voluntary migration to

found a new state: and, when we oppose obvious reasoning, upon any ground, our facts should be strong. But here nothing can be more doubtful. Bochart, Hyde, and other learned men even suppose, that Ashur, in this place, is not the name of a man, but of a country: they interpret the passage, *Out of that land he (Nimrod) went forth into Ashur*; and they support their opinions by the *Targum Onkelosi*, and other authorities: which, if not perfectly satisfactory, shew clearly at least, that the prior settlement and expulsion of Ashur are circumstances of a nature too obscure, to afford good ground even for conjecture: but far less for a system; which, like Aaron's rod, is to devour the systems of all preceding writers, and teach us truths hitherto concealed from all the world. Commentators have in general considered those early ages as days of peace. Wars, they think, were not waged till hundreds of years after the Dispersion. And, as it must have been perfectly agreeable to the Divine Wisdom, that mankind, on the first division of the earth, should have spread themselves without unnecessary bloodshed, we are not justified in supposing the contrary, without the most positive proof.^m

As the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom is declared by Moses to have been Babel: and as

Mr. Bryant allows him to have been the first king of the whole earth ; it must indeed be a contradiction in terms to acknowledge, at the same time, Ashur's previous sovereignty of Babylonia *. If the Migration therefore is to be considered as prior to the Dispersion : if the original inhabitants of Chaldea were not the Builders of the Tower : if those who journeyed from the East were the invaders of a country already possessed : it follows, that Nimrod, having been the king of the aboriginal people, could not, at the same time, be the leader of those who attacked his dominions. Nimrod, we may observe, though he might build the *city* of Babel, is no where in Scripture said to have built the *tower* ; and, if those who journeyed from the East were not the whole but a part of Mankind, the most obvious conclusion we can draw is, that they were of the line of Shem ; for they alone

* Any quibble, that Nimrod was a *king*, and that Ashur was not, must be a distinction without a difference. They were both chiefs of their people ; both must have exerted rights of government peculiar to their age : and, whatever titles they might adopt, they must still be considered as sovereigns. Even Nimrod is not called a *king* by Moses. It is only said that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel : and the word in the original may imply the dominions of any sovereign, by whatever title he may be distinguished.

had the East for their portion. Japhet and Ham must have journeyed from the Westward: and, without evidence, we must do violence to our reason to believe the contrary.ⁿ

BEFORE we dismiss Nimrod, I should be glad just to know, when the learned gentleman supposes him to have lived: for, till that is determined, we shall be much at a loss to account for his leading off the Cuthites from Ararat, agreeable to his System. After the extract from Epiphanius (formerly inserted p. 390.), where Noah is supposed to have lived in the neighbourhood of that mountain 659 years after the flood; Mr. Bryant observes, “That the sons of Chus went off
“under the conduct of the Archrebel Nim-
“rod *.” Now Moses being silent, with

* “During the residence of mankind in those parts, we may imagine there was a season of great happiness. They for a long time lived under the mild rule of the great Patriarch, before laws were enacted, or penalties known. When they multiplied and became very numerous, it pleased God to allot, to the various families, different regions, to which they were to retire: and they accordingly, in the days of Peleg [none of the learned gentleman’s calculations will correspond however with the days of Peleg], did remove and betake themselves to their different departments. But the sons of Chus would not obey. They went off under the conduct of the archrebel Nim-

regard to the age of this prince, he has been supposed, by many commentators on the Bible, to have begun to reign in the year of the World 1757, and to have reigned 148 years. Bedford, in his Chronology, makes him to succeed his father, (whom he calls Cush or Belus II.) in the year 1960, and to have died in 2012. Whilst others, among whom is the elaborate Dr. Jackson, do not make his reign to commence till the year 2788, and to have lasted only six years.—Which of these will the learned gentleman chuse? Or what other canons will he prefer? Or will he frame new ones? To which of his own epochs of the Migration will he be pleased, at

rod; and seem to have been for a long time in a roving state; but at last they arrived at the plains of Shinar. These they found occupied by Assur and his sons: for he had been placed there by divine appointment. But they ejected him, and seized upon his dominions; which they immediately fortified with cities, and laid the foundation of a great monarchy. Their leader is often mentioned by the Gentile writers, who call him Belus. He was a person of great impiety; who finding the earth had been divided among the sons of men by a divine decree, thought proper to counteract the ordinance of God, and to make a different distribution." Vol. III. p. 22. —To all this, I can only say, with the old song, "'Tis fine indeed, if
 "'twas but true!"

the same time, to adapt them? To the migration, in 2672, as adopted from Eusebius, none of the above will answer: and with that of Epiphanius in 2921, they will correspond still less: for, stretch the life of Nimrod to the utmost extent that imagination has given him, and he must have been long dead before the Cuthites, by the above hypothesis, had moved from Ararat, or the Tower of Babel even could be thought of. °

BUT still, though every step we have hitherto travelled with the Cuthites appears to be completely fanciful, to give every latitude to the argument, let us suppose them to have actually driven Ashur out of Babylonia, and to have built the Tower. Yet, even here, I am afraid, his arguments will be discovered to be far from sound. They may go a great way farther than the learned author seems to be aware of; for they cannot possibly be allowed, without injuring a much more important object. I mean the *Universality of the Deluge*. If the interpretation which (Vol. III. p. 27.) he has been pleased to give us of the 11th chapter of Genesis, is admitted, it must ruin his System: as it is precisely adopting the very line of evidence, which many learned men have urged, in support of the *locality of the Flood*. And if the expression *the whole*

earth, which is so often and so emphatically repeated in this chapter, is to be considered as a mere figurative mode of writing, and to imply only *a particular district*; the learned author gives up, with one dash of his pen, the most important point in his whole book: and furnishes his antagonists with the very weapons they wish. For, if he is permitted to make such use of one chapter, to adapt it to his purpose; they will, and with justice, claim from him an equal right to the same freedom of translation, in the chapters which precede: and consider the words *All flesh: every living substance: all the high hills, under the whole heaven*: and such similar expressions: as having merely a partial sense; and to be simply understood as metaphorical figures of speech. This indeed is a line of argument, which was least of all to be expected from our learned author: but it shows, that all things, however consequential, must give way to his *Cuthite System*: and that the *Universality of the Deluge*, though professedly his chief object of investigation, proves, in fact, a mere secondary consideration to his favourite people. But one of these points he must give up, or he betrays both. And here indeed he has no choice. The *Cuthites* must fall: for this part of his own evidence becomes decisive of their

fate. It is a two-edged weapon unskilfully handled : for if *the whole earth*, in one line, means only a *particular province*, it must clearly have the same limited sense in that which follows : “ Therefore is the name of “ it called Babel, because the Lord did there “ confound the language of *all the earth* : “ and from thence did the Lord scatter them “ abroad upon the face of *all the earth*.” Now, if the Confusion of Speech was confined to the Cuthites, and to the region about Babel ; the Dispersion must have also been confined to the same district. This judgement, he must allow, was either *general* or *limited*. If *general*, all mankind must have been interested in the building of the Tower : and all mankind must, of consequence, have been dispersed. If *limited*, and the Cuthites were the only objects of divine vengeance, their flight must have been limited also to the district of Chaldea : and their whole fanciful wanderings prove, of course, a baseless fabric : a mere castle of cards, pompously reared upon a stratum of chaff. ^P

S E C T. IV.

Of Sanconiathon, Manetho, Berofus.

I HAVE confidered Sanconiathon, Manetho, and Berofus (p. 106) as remote fablers: and this, among other things, has much offended Mr. Bryant. But as his arguments have not given me a more favourable impreffion of thofe writers, I fhall here beg leave to offer a few reafons, upon which I ground the opinion I have formed of the histories, which pafs under their names.^a

As the learned author does not build fo much upon the two firft, my notice of them will be proportionably fhort. But, as Berofus feems to be viewed as a corner ftone, I fhall confider him more at large. Thefe histories, it may be obferved, as we go along, if they ever did exift, which I will not pofitively affert, now exift no more in their original tongues. Many of thofe even, to whom the tranflations have been attributed, are now known only by name: and their fragments

broken, corrupted, and justly suspected, are handed down to us only by Eusebius and other writers posterior to the Christian era *. The subjects of which they treat, are, at the same time, chiefly antediluvian ; extracted from materials heaven knows where deposited ; and, in general, so wild, so impossible, and so little resembling any circumstance of our world, that, like dreams, they may be interpreted even precisely as we list.

SANCONIATHON, supposed to have been cotemporary with Gideon, drew materials,

* In the first ages of Christianity, when the fathers of the Church, the Jews, and the Heathen philosophers, were so warmly engaged in controversy, there is reason to believe, that pious frauds were not uncommon : and that when one party suspected forgeries, instead of an attempt at confutation, which might have been difficult, they had recourse perhaps to a countermine : and either invented altogether, or eked out some obscure traditional scraps by the embellishments of fancy. When we consider, amongst many literary impositions of later times, that Psalmanazar's history of Formosa, was, even in this enlightened age and country, considered by our most learned men as unquestionably authentic, till the confession of the author discovered the secret ; I think it is not difficult to conceive, how forgeries of remote events, before the invention of printing and the general diffusion of knowledge, might gain an authority, and especially with the zealous, hardly inferior to that of the most genuine history.

we are told, for his Phenician antiquities, from the writings of Taaut, Hermes, or Mercury ; the whole of which are so completely antediluvian, that there is not a syllable to be found in them relative to the deluge. They were pretended to have been discovered and translated by Philo of Byblus, in the reign of the emperor Adrian : and, if they are not the entire forgeries of that writer, which has been much suspected, it is generally allowed, that he has taken such liberties with the original, that we have no criterion left, by which we can discriminate the true from the false. °

THE same observations will pretty nearly apply to Manetho. He was, we are informed, an Egyptian priest ; and lived about 260 years before Christ. His dynasties of Egyptian kings, which even those who use them, consider, in a great measure, as his own invention, are said to have been taken from pillars of stone erected in the land of Seriad ; the latitude, longitude, or even the probable existence of which, no geographer or traveller, I believe, has ever yet been able to discover. The inscriptions on these pillars were, we are informed, made by the antediluvian Thoth or Mercury. They were, some time after the Flood, translated into hieroglyphics by

Agathodæmon or Thoth the second: and from such respectable materials has Josephus framed his astronomical pillars of Seth, his absurd theory of the Shepherd kings, and half his improbable legends on ancient Egypt.^d

BEROSUS, we learn, was a priest of the Babylonish deity Belus, and cotemporary with Alexander: though his supposed Annals of Chaldea were not published, as we are informed, till fifty-five years after the death of that prince. His materials, we are told by some authors, were composed partly from hieroglyphics, and partly from written records, preserved in the Temple of his God for a period of 150,000 years*. But here we unfor-

* It is evident, though mention is made of other records, that there could be nothing but hieroglyphics, from whence Berossus, or any writer, could compile a history of the times, of which he is supposed to have written. Yet Mr. Bryant says, (Vol. III. p. 108.) “ And in respect to
“ what is more fully transmitted to us by Alexander Poly-
“ histor from Berossus; we may upon a close inspection
“ perceive, that the original history was of a two-fold na-
“ ture; and obtained by different means from two separate
“ quarters. The latter part is plain, and obvious: and
“ was undoubtedly taken from the archives of the Chal-
“ deans. The former is allegorical and obscure; and
“ was copied from hieroglyphical representations, which
“ could not be precisely decyphered.” Now I wish the

unately meet with a perplexing difficulty, even at the threshold, which apparently cannot be easily surmounted. However satisfactory such records may be considered by some systematic writers, I must beg to be informed, what authority there is, that they even existed in the days of this writer. For, not only the temple of Belus, as we are told by Arrian, but every sacred place belonging to the Babylonians, were actually in ruins in the time of Alexander; supposed to have been demolished by Xerxes on his return from the invasion of Greece. When Alexander approached Babylon, after the conquest of India, he was met, according to this writer, by the Chaldean priests, who predicted to him, from the oracle of their God, some fatal accident, if he entered that city. The oracle, Alexander suspected, had no concern in this prediction: and he imputed it to the private views of the priests. He had, some time before, resolved to rebuild the temple of Belus with uncom-

learned gentleman would be consistent with himself; for (p. 123.) he says, “For my part, I believe that there was no writing antecedent to the Law at Mount Sina.” This, by the Hebrew chronology, was 857 years after the Deluge. By the Septuagint, 1577. Where then could Berofus discover, on these principles, *written* documents, relative to the Flood or to antediluvian times?

mon magnificence; and, for that purpose, when he marched for India, he had ordered the Babylonians to clear away the rubbish. But understanding, that, during his absence, the work had gone slowly on, he declared, on his return, that he would employ his whole army in the undertaking. This was a circumstance which the priests dreaded. For, great districts of land, with other revenues, having been consecrated by the Assyrian kings, for the sacrifices and other ceremonies of the temple; the priests, after its destruction, had applied them to their own private emolument; and they wished not to see them again diverted to their original uses. From these apprehensions they were only relieved by the death of Alexander, which put an end to the design. — Such having been the general havoc, and the subsequent neglected condition of the Babylonian temples, is it not natural to enquire, how the archives of 150,000 years escaped destruction? How hieroglyphics, whether upon tables or pillars, could remain undefaced? Or how any records indeed could well be saved from the rage of an arbitrary prince, frantic with disappointment; who viewed the Babylonish superstition with horror; and seemed resolved to exterminate hieroglyphics, as well as every memorial of their idol worship? And how, covered deep as they must

have been with rubbish, could Berofus, or any other man, get even to the sight of them ; so as to describe or translate them, in any connected historical series ? *

BUT I do not mean to confine my doubts of Berofus merely to this suspicious circumstance, however strong. I shall even suppose the hieroglyphics to have been entire ; that they actually came under the inspection of Berofus ; that he was a complete master of the decyphering art ; and that his annals were really written in the Chaldaic language. To Africanus, Apollodorus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Abydenus §, it is said, we are obliged for extracts : but we are not informed whether they were the translators ; or whether their knowledge of the Chaldaic language was sufficient to give us any convincing idea of the fidelity of the version. But where are even these translators ? Are they any where now to be found ? Have we even any *absolute certainty* that they ever wrote or translated one syllable as it now stands ? We have fragments indeed, said to have been copied from those older Greek writers, preserved by Eusebius

§ Africanus, according to Dr. Jackson, flourished in the year 220 before Christ ; Apollodorus, 144 ; Alexander Polyhistor, 80 ; and Abydenus, 60.

and Syncellus. But in a state so mutilated, so adulterated, that every writer upon those subjects finds himself under the necessity of accusing them, of altering, omitting, and interpolating words, and passages, to adapt the history to their respective views and systems. Truth herself would assume the garb of falsehood, if handed down to us through such corrupted mediums. In what esteem then must reasonable men, who have no hypothesis to establish, hold such wild effusions of unnatural extravagance; which, like figures in the fire, a thousand beholders might describe a thousand different ways? ^f

ONE or two extracts I have inserted in the notes; and from those the reader may form some opinion of the whole *. I do not in-

* “ So much concerning the wisdom of the Chaldeans, (says Eusebius from Abydenus). It is said, that the first king of this country was Alorus; who gave out a report, that he was appointed by God to be the shepherd of his people. He reigned ten fari. Now a farus is esteemed 3600 years. A nereus is reckoned 600; and a fofus 60. After him Alaparus reigned three fari: to him succeeded Amillarus, from the city of Pantibiblus, who reigned thirteen fari. In his time a semidæmon, called Annedotus, in appearance very like to Oannes, shewed himself a second time from the sea. After him Amenon reigned twelve fari; who was of the city of Pantibiblon. Then

tend to enlarge upon the God Belus cutting the woman asunder ; and forming of her the

Megalenus, of the same place, eighteen fari. Then Daus the Shepherd governed for the space of ten fari : he was of Pantibiblon. In his time four double-shaped personages came out of the sea to land : whose names were Euedocus, Eneugamus, Enaboulus and Anementus. After Daus succeeded Anodaphus, the son of Aedoreschus. There were afterwards other kings ; and last of all Sifuthrus : so that, in the whole, the number of kings amounted to ten : and the term of their reigns to 120 fari."

"Alexander Polyhistor mentions, that Oannes shewed himself in the first year (of what ?) but Apollodorus says that it was after 40 fari. Abydenus, differing from both, makes the second Annedotus appear after 26 fari. *Eusebii Chronicon*. p. 5.—*Mythal*. Vol. III. p. 97. and 98.

"Moreover Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind : of their different ways of life, and of civil polity : and the following is the purport of what he said : There was nothing but darkness, and an abyss of water, wherein resided most hideous beings, which were produced of a twofold principle. Men appeared with two wings ; some with four ; and with two faces. They had one body, but two heads ; the one of a man, the other of a woman. They were likewise in their several organs both male and female. Other human figures were to be seen with the legs and horns of goats. Some had horses feet : others had the limbs of a horse behind ; but before were fashioned like men, resembling hippocentaurs. Bulls likewise bred there with the heads of men ; and dogs with fourfold bodies, and the tails of fishes. In short, there

heavens and the earth : neither do I intend to enlarge upon his cutting off his own head : nor upon the whole animal system which we

were creatures with the limbs of every species of animals. Add to these, fishes, reptiles, serpents, with other wonderful animals ; which assumed each other's shape and countenance. Of all these were preserved delineations in the temple of Belus at Babylon. The person who was supposed to have presided over them had the name of Omerca. This in the Chaldaic language is Thalath ; which the Greeks express *Θαλασσα*, the sea ; but, according to the most true computation, it is equivalent to (*Σεληνη*) the moon. All things being in this situation, Belus came and cut the woman asunder : and out of one half of her he formed the earth, and of the other half, the heavens ; and at the same time destroyed the animals in the abyss. All this, Berofus said, was an allegorical description of nature. For the whole universe consisting of moisture, and animals being continually generated therein ; the deity (Belus) above-mentioned, cut off his own head : upon which the other Gods mixed the blood, as it gushed out, with the earth ; and from thence men were formed. On this account it is that they are rational, and partake of divine knowledge. This Belus, whom men call Dis, divided the darkness, and separated the heavens from the earth, and reduced the universe to order. But the animals so lately created, not being able to bear the prevalence of light, died. Belus, upon this, seeing a vast space quite uninhabited, though by nature very fruitful, ordered one of the Gods to cut off his head (which we find above he had already cut off himself) ; and when it

find in shocking masquerade. I shall only make a few remarks upon the man-fish Oannes and the ten Antediluvian kings, whose reigns extended to 432,000 years; as this subject leads to an ingenious criticism of our learned author. He discovers, under the description of Oannes, we perceive, an allegorical representation of the patriarch Noah †. Now, though this resemblance may not perhaps be so striking to ordinary men; we shall acquiesce in it,—upon the same principles that we must acquiesce in one half, at least, of his learned

was taken off, they were to mix the blood with the soil of the earth; and from thence to form other men and animals, which should be capable of bearing the light.”—Euseb. Chron.—Mythol. Vol. III. p. 102.

† Under the character of the *Man of the Sea*, whose name was Oannes, we have an allegorical representation of the great patriarch; whom in his other history he calls Sifuthros. His whole body, it seems, was like that of a fish: and he had under the head of a fish, another head, &c. and a delineation of him was to be seen at Babylon. He infused into mankind a knowledge of right and wrong: instructed them in every science: directed them to found temples; and to pay a regard to the Gods. He taught them also to distinguish the different sorts of seeds; and to collect the fruits of the earth: and to provide against futurity. In short, he instructed mankind so fully, that nothing afterward could be added thereto.”—Vol. III. p. 109.

work : — because he says it is so. Alexander Polyhistor, from Berofus, (according to Eusebius) fixes the appearance of this man-fish to a certain year, which can be reconciled to no terrestrial chronology. But Abydenus, from Berofus, places this important event 93,000, and Apollodorus, also from Berofus, 144,000 years after Polyhistor's era. Our learned author, with a laudable zeal to clear up this beautiful history, is, with much reason, exceedingly angry at those fine old Grecians, for being guilty of such shameful anachronisms ; and reduces the whole chaos to surprising order, by a very new hypothesis indeed : to which, as I am unwilling to do the least injustice, I shall beg leave to transcribe the passage. *

“ WE may be able to detect and confute
“ the absurdity of Abydenus and Apollodo-
“ rus ; who pretend, upon the authority of
“ this writer (Berofus) to produce ten Ante-
“ diluvian kings, of whom no mention was
“ made by him : for what are taken by those
“ writers for Antediluvians, are expressly re-
“ ferred by him to another era. Yet have
“ these writers been followed in their notions
“ by Eusebius, and some other of the an-
“ cients ; and by almost every modern who
“ has written upon the subject. Their own

“ words, or at least the words, which they
 “ quote from Berofus, are of themselves suf-
 “ ficient to confute the notion. For they speak
 “ of the first king, who reigned, to have
 “ been a Chaldean and of Babylon; and to
 “ have been called Alorus. Now it is cer-
 “ tain that Nimrod built Babel, which is
 “ Babylon after the flood. He was a Chal-
 “ dean, and the first king upon earth: and
 “ he was called by many nations Orion and
 “ Alorus. Yet by these writers Alorus is
 “ made an Antediluvian prince; and being
 “ raised ten generations above Sifuthrus or
 “ Noah, he stands in the same degree of
 “ rank as the Protoplast: and many in con-
 “ sequence of it have supposed him to be
 “ Adam. We are much indebted to Alex-
 “ ander Polyhistor for giving us not only a
 “ more copious, but a more genuine extract
 “ from Berofus, than has been transmitted by
 “ the other two writers. We know from
 “ him that there were of that author two
 “ books; of the first of which he has trans-
 “ mitted to us a curious epitome. In this
 “ book, after having given an account of the
 “ country and its produce, he proceeds to the
 “ history of the people: and the very first
 “ occurrence is the appearance of Oannes (ὁ
 “ Δαγών) the man of the sea. He is intro-

“ duced εν πρῳτῳ ενιαυτῳ in the first year of the
 “ history, which is no other than the first
 “ year of the world after the flood ; when
 “ there was a renewal of time, and the earth
 “ was in its second infancy. At this period
 “ is Oannes introduced. But the other two
 “ writers, contrary to the tenor of the ori-
 “ ginal history, make him subsequent in time.
 “ This embarrasses the account very much :
 “ for as he is placed the very first in the prior
 “ treatise of Berofus : it is hard to conceive
 “ how any of these ten kings could have
 “ been before him : especially as the author
 “ had expressly said Εν τη δευτερῃ της ἱ βασιλειας
 “ *In the second book I shall give an account of*
 “ *the ten kings of Babylon.* It is manifest from
 “ hence, that they were posterior to Oannes,
 “ and to all the circumstances of the first
 “ book. The Grecians, not knowing, or
 “ not attending to the eastern mode of wri-
 “ ting, have introduced these ten kings in
 “ the first book, which Berofus expressly re-
 “ fers to the second. They often inverted
 “ the names of persons, as well as of places :
 “ and have ruined whole dynasties through
 “ ignorance of arrangement. What the Orien-
 “ tals wrote from right to left, they were
 “ apt to confound by a wrong disposition,
 “ and to describe in an inverted series. Hence

“ these supposed kings, who, according to
 “ Berofus, were subsequent to the deluge,
 “ and to the Patriarch, are made prior to
 “ both: and he, who stood first, is made
 “ later by ten generations, through a rever-
 “ sion of the true order.” Vol. III. p. 111.

I MUST refer the curious reader to the Mythology itself; where the whole chain of argument will be found equally strange with the above: I shall just conclude with the manner in which the ten Antediluvians are converted into Noah, Ham, Chus, and Nimrod. “ I imagine, that the original list which
 “ has been supposed to have been a dynasty
 “ of Antediluvian kings, was the genealogy
 “ of Nimrod, the first king of the country;
 “ in which were contained *four* persons; Si-
 “ futhrus or the Patriarch: next under the
 “ character of Amenon, Amelon, Amilarus,
 “ is Ham: Eudoreschus (Euc-Ad-Arez-
 “ Chus) is his son Chus: and lastly, Alorus
 “ Daonus the Shepherd was Nimrod: for it
 “ is expressly said of him, that he took the
 “ title of Shepherd. The rest are foreign
 “ to the catalogue; and through ignorance
 “ have been inserted *.” Vol. III. p. 122.

* He that can play so prettily with common sense, and gulp down such monstrous crudities, need not, methinks,

FROM the whole, we find Apollodorus, Abydenus, Eusebius, all in the wrong. Confusion, as he observes in another part, is worse confounded. All I wonder at is, that men, with no higher pretensions than mere human reason, should expect to be otherwise amidst such rubbish. But our learned author, as we may perceive, sets all things to rights in a twinkling; and by one of the easiest operations in the world. By turning this puzzling dynasty of Antediluvians topsy-turvy; and metamorphosing the whole ten, with their long reigns of 432,000 years, into Noah, Ham, Chus, and Nimrod *. It is indeed a bold thought; yet simple, when known: for nothing, he says, can be more na-

have boggled so much at the *Arabian envoy*, or the *Kite and the Slave's girdle*. It is, like the old proverb, straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel. "In good truth, if
 "I may be allowed to speak freely, histories of this sort
 "are very little superior to those of that respectable lady
 "Mother Goose." Vid. *Apology*, p. 98. and this *Dissertation*, p. 5. 276. 355.

* Dr. Jackson (*Chron. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 200.) endeavours to prove, that these Babylonish *years* were only *days*. In consequence of which, he makes Alorus to be the Tubal-cain of Scripture; and begins his reign about 1183 years before the Deluge. This system is very different from Mr. Bryant's. Yet I think, though ingenious, that it is liable to objection. The Doctor supposes the

turally accounted for. Those rogues of Greeks have perplexed every thing by not knowing

Chaldaic *Jomin*, like the Hebrew *Jomim*, to have signified *years* as well as *days*. But how could he know, what particular word was used by a Chaldaic writer; whose works, as I have already observed, if they ever were in being, have been confessedly lost, at least 1700 years? — The Doctor observes, (p. 215.) that the ages of the Gods and Demigods, before and after the Flood, were reckoned, among the Chaldeans, by myriads, thousands, and hundreds of years; by which, he says, they meant only days: but that, after the Demigods, they, as well as the Egyptians, (whose years chronologers, in order to bring them within their canons, have reduced to months) began to reckon by solar years. This may, possibly, be true; as there can be nothing singular in finding the computations in old records, formed upon principles very different from what may be afterwards adopted, on the principles of improvement and convenience. Yet I think it would require very strong evidence, to convince us, that any people, upon such an alteration, should, without any distinguishing mark, merely to create unnecessary confusion, use the same word to signify *one* day, and *three hundred and sixty*, (the old Chaldean year). — The whole theory indeed seems too refined to be just; for, by proving, in some cases, too much, I am afraid, it will prove nothing. The original records said to have been preserved in the Temple of Belus, on which the history of Berofus is founded, comprehended a period of fifteen myriads or 150,000 years. This is unquestionably absurd: but, if these years are reduced to days, they will not amount to 411 years; and fall con-

their right hand from their left.—Now I have only one or two trifling doubts ; which, it

frequently into the other extreme : by bringing down the antiquity of the Babylonian records within about 740 years of the Christian era ; instead of furnishing materials for the antediluvian or postdiluvian dynasties of Berofus. Dr. Jackson seems indeed to have been aware of this objection : and, to avoid the difficulty, he supposes that Syncellus has corrupted the translation of Polyhistor ; who, he thinks, must have found in Berofus *fifty* myriads, instead of *fifteen*. But this is mere conjecture : and, if we are allowed to alter numbers in this manner, without the clearest evidence, all canons are nugatory ; and every chronological perplexity may be settled at once, without the trouble of search or investigation. Yet, even by this proposed amendment, if we suppose the myriads to be computed from the days of Berofus, the hypothesis is not mended : for such records would then ascend but little higher than Moses : which could give no light to many ages after the flood, far less to those before it.—If we are desired again, by the Doctor, to believe that the records of fifty myriads begin at the era of the man-fish Oannes, who first wrote the origin of all things ; can we really be serious on suppositions, which seem only to subject learning to ridicule ? — I shall make only one further remark, in respect to the day and solar years.—Had such incongruous modes of calculation been in use among the Babylonians, must it not have been known to the Greeks in the time of Alexander ? The philosopher Callisthenes, we are informed, sent to his uncle Aristotle, Astronomical Observations, for 1903 years before the Macedonian con-

is possible, the learned author may easily remove. As this Grecian mode of translating Oriental authors would undoubtedly be a secret worth having, I wish to be instructed, how they could turn the old Babylonian into Greek, without being able to read him? How

quest. Could he, who procured these, have been ignorant of a peculiarity so strange, as that of using the same word indiscriminately for years and days? Might it not be expected, at least, to have been mentioned? for surely these observations could never have been considered as a treasure of antiquity, had they only extended to 1903 days. — It may again be said, indeed, that this mode of computation, by large numbers, was confined to the remote history of their supposed Gods; the solar years being in every other respect in common use: but that does by no means seem to be just. For we find the same large numbers used with regard to astronomical calculations: Diodorus and other authors informing us, that the Chaldeans pretended to have made celestial observations for 473,000 years before Alexander: and, of these, it is probable, Callisthenes sent only what he thought to be genuine: considering the rest, as merely the dreams of men vain of their antiquity. We possibly too might judge well, if, upon the same principles, every exaggerated figment of remote times, which neither record nor probability can reconcile with rational history, were allowed, undisturbed, to possess the region of fable. For it is difficult, without pain, to turn over the vast volumes, which, in different ages, have been written on those subjects; only to discover the reveries of the learned, and the misapplication of great talents in *washing the blackamoor white*.

they could read him without knowing the beginning of the line from the end? And how they could contrive to go from right to left through the body of the work, so as to get at any thing like sense; and then, all at once, by strangely mistaking a course they had so long followed, go quite the opposite way to work, and reverse a whole dynasty of kings? Not too, as we may observe, of mere solitary names; but each accompanied with description, with anecdote, and with the exact duration of his reign? If the ingenious gentleman can but clear me up this pretty flight-of-hand way of boxing an author, as seamen do their compass, backwards and forwards, *erit mihi magnus Apollo*. †—Much erudition and industry, we must, in the mean time acknowledge, our author has displayed in the illustration of this history: and it is to be hoped, that nobody will be wicked enough to think, that the Laputa projector, who busied himself in extracting Sun-beams from cucumbers, was half so rationally employed. ^a

† It is by the same ingenious system of alternate inversion, that he cleanses the Augean stable of Egyptian dynasties. One indeed would almost think that his Greeks must have come fresh from studying the *βασελοφηδον* stile of Sigeon inscriptions; and translated, agreeable to this mode, one line to the right, and the next to the left, as the ox ploughs.

“ GREAT respect,” (let me conclude in the
 words of our learned author, Vol. III. p. 140.
 on the Systems of Pezron and Wife) “ is cer-
 “ tainly due to men of learning; and a pro-
 “ per regard should be paid to their memory.
 “ But they forfeit much of this esteem, when
 “ they misapply their talents; and put them-
 “ selves to those shifts to support an hypo-
 “ thesis. They may smile at their reveries,
 “ and plume themselves on their ingenuity
 “ in finding out such expedients: but no good
 “ can possibly arise from it; for the whole is
 “ a fallacy and imposition. And a person
 “ who gets out of his depth, and tries to
 “ save himself by such feeble supports, is
 “ like an idiot drowning: who laughs, and
 “ plunges, and catches at every straw.”

S E C T. V.

*Further observations on the Cuthite System ;
especially on Etymological principles.*

IN the preceding Sections, I have endeavoured, in a few instances, to show the unsolid basis of our learned author's *System*, upon Chronological and Historical grounds. I have endeavoured to show how much he is, in a variety of respects, in opposition to Scripture ; unsupported by profane history ; and discountenanced by reason. I have endeavoured to show, how vain and unsatisfactory the attempt must be, to illustrate the Sacred Writings, on points of such high antiquity, by the wild incoherencies of a Berofus and other suspected writers : — seeking, indeed, *with taper light, the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish*. — I shall now endeavour to show, that the allegations, on the head of etymology, which he has made in the *Analysis*, and repeated in the *Apology*, are equally groundless with the rest. ^a

HE has said, “ That though his etymological System might be found contrary to truth, the history would speak for itself; and, without those helps, be authenticated.” This caveat, as he calls it, did by no means escape me: But I could not acquiesce in the truth of the position. It is indeed boldly asserted. The learned gentleman is seldom embarrassed with diffidence. And bold assertions, we all know, will ever find believers. Lord Peter, in the Tale of a Tub, took a fancy once to assert, that a large loaf, served up to dinner, was excellent mutton. Martin and Jack, it is true, ventured to entertain some doubts. But his Lordship soon settled the matter concisely thus: “ Look ye, gentlemen, cries Peter in a rage, to convince you what a couple of blind, positive, ignorant puppies you are, I will use but this plain argument: by G—d it is true, good, natural mutton as any in Leadenhall Market; and G—d confound you both eternally if you offer to believe otherwise.” —The brothers were immediately satisfied: but, as there were still some odd people, who could not so readily enter into Lord Peter’s taste: I hope the learned gentleman will allow me to hesitate, before I bring myself to his. For so little, in my apprehension,

will history aid his *System*; that it seems to be every where, as Shakespeare says, *frightened from its propriety*; diverted from its rational and received meaning; and unnaturally bent, by the help of strained etymological definitions, to give a colouring to his pre-conceived opinions. The radicals may indeed be called the threads which sew his shreds together. Cut them, and they fall to pieces. It is Etymology alone which gives to the whole a specious appearance: and, indeed, where that proves ideal, the quotations in general might, with no greater violence, be employed to illustrate the conquests of Alexander, or the voyages of Christopher Columbus. ^b

WHAT, in fact, but the arbitrary meanings, given by the learned author to places, in every corner of the globe; and which he has set up, like land-marks, to trace the Cushites in all their fanciful expeditions; could ever have induced him to adopt the line of Ham for his heroes? And how strong must this prepossession have been, when it could lead him to counteract, in a variety of respects, the very spirit of Scripture, upon which he, at the same time, professedly builds? The posterity of Ham are expressly cursed by Noah, on account of the irreverence of their ancestor; and doomed to be subservient to the lines of

Shem and Japhet. Yet, in the *Analysis*, they are made to overspread the earth; to be great in worldly wisdom; to give laws to the other branches of the Patriarch's family; and to be the stipes, in short, from whence sprung almost every god, legislator, prince, and hero of high antiquity. *

ONE of the most rational arguments which the learned author brings, in support of the universal deluge, is the strong impression, which, in the early ages, this judgment must have made upon the minds of men. Why then in the same breath, defeat this powerful argument, by confining this impression entirely to the line of Ham; or rather to the sons of Chus? Were not Japhet and Shem also in the Ark? Must not the awfulness of the scene have made an equal impression upon them? And what reason is produced to lead us to imagine, that they would be less attentive to hand it down to their posterity? The sons of Japhet and Shem are represented, even by the learned author, as comparatively pious and obedient. Why then suppose, that they would be less grateful to Omnipotence, or more forgetful of their common ancestor, than the descendants of the less virtuous brother? They were blessed: he was cursed. They were dutiful: he was impious. Yet all

the monuments, supposed to be commemorative of the great Patriarch, are made to originate entirely in the line of Ham. But, ought any thing, short of undeniable evidence, to induce us to attribute to one branch, and that the least promising, all the memorials of the deluge; all the veneration paid to Noah? Are those who are most remarkable for impiety most distinguished, in general, for filial duty? Are those who venerate their parents the most apt to set heaven at defiance? Allowing, for a moment, that all the mysteries and symbols of ancient superstition, actually sprung from a regular system of grateful reverence for the great Patriarch; why exclude two thirds of his posterity? Why, as I have said, confine it almost wholly to the sons of Chus? Would not the universality of the deluge, on such principles, have been far more substantially established, by supposing memorials of it to have been left by *all* the descendants of Noah: than by endeavouring to trace them to *one* family alone, confessedly the most perverse, undutiful, and unbelieving of the whole patriarchal race? I think it must: and I see not, I confess, the consistency, the usefulness, the religion, or the morality of the opposite system. ^d

WHERE, at the same time, is there even the shadow of evidence, without the assistance

of those arbitrarily interpreted radicals, to prove, that the line of Ham was more peculiarly addicted to the worship of the Sun or of Fire, than any other people of the race of Adam? Take away those fanciful names, which the learned author has given to the Sun, to temples, and to ceremonies; as derived from Ham, and other favourite words: and the whole, we shall find, I apprehend, to be grounded on assertion alone. For, if we are allowed to indulge surmises on those inscrutable periods of antiquity; and *must* fix upon a peculiar people, as the first introducers of the Solar worship; every presumption, I think, must carry us to some branch of the line of Shem. For to them was the East allotted. In the East this religion chiefly prevailed. In Persia, in particular, the Sun and the Fire were long their *only* Gods: whilst the Egyptians, the Ethiopians, and other branches of the sons of Ham, divided their attention between the great luminary and hundreds of the most absurd and despicable of deities. *

BUT, indeed, in every remote enquiry, where conjecture is our principal resource, I am strongly inclined to think, that the nearer we approach to common sense, the broader must be our basis, and the more solid our superstructure. Now, to account for the ado-

ration of the Sun, or of his representative, Fire ; I can see no necessity for recourse to mysterious symbols, to hieroglyphics, to radicals, to Cuthites. Such seem only to be clouds and fogs, which obscure the simpler rays of truth and reason. For, if we are to entertain the least surprize on this subject, it should, in my apprehension, rather proceed from the reflection, that this mode of worship, instead of being partial, was not, on the contrary, the universal religion of the world ; before revelation, or deep reflection, had taught mankind to conceive the idea of an Omnipotent Being, still superior to that glorious star. Could a creature, whose faculties were limited, and whose only guide was nature, behold, without a mixture of gratitude and delight, the diurnal revolution of the Sun ; who, to him, must seem to rise only, for acts of kindness to every surrounding object ? Cheered, warmed, enlightened, all nature reviving at his appearance ; can we wonder that simple men, in the days of ignorance, should have viewed a being, so apparently beneficent, as the Divine Ruler of the world ? And can we wonder, that, in consequence of this pre-conception, they should have paid to him the most unaffected and enthusiastic adoration ?

WHILST we may easily too, on the same

general principles, account for the veneration paid to the Moon and Stars : the various systems of Monster-worship, and other shocking rites, which disgraced the Pagan world, could not, seemingly, originate wholly in the simplicity of human nature. The terror and superstition of the body of the people, must, by degrees, have been made subservient to the art and the imposture of the designing few. Caverns, groves, and other sequestered places, the natural gloom of which strikes horror into fearful minds ; would, on favourable occasions, be possessed by the bold and the artful : and these could find but little difficulty in persuading timid ignorance ; that the nocturnal howlings ; the roaring of pent-up winds ; the gushing of unseen waters ; and the reverberating echoes of every terrifying sound ; were the voices of supernatural beings, threatening them with destruction for their impiety ; which nothing but offerings to the deities could avert. It is unnecessary here to pursue the idea. But, when we reflect, in general, on the various causes, which might have given birth to such superstitions ; and upon the ease with which, in all times, the people have been deceived by what they did not know ; I think there is no occasion to resort to the Cuthites, even for such

abominable rites, as have rendered human nature contemptible. *

THAT the learned gentleman supports his System chiefly by names, supposed to be derived from the Patriarchs, and from a fanciful combination of other radicals; might be demonstrated, by as many examples almost as there are pages in his book. They abound every where. In many, I have already shewn, he has been much mistaken: in many more, the etymologies are to the last degree suspicious: and, even in the few, where, by mere dint of guessing, perchance he may be right, they must be too feeble to support any hypothesis whatever. He has supposed, in his *Apology*, that, because I only pointed to about one half of his radicals, as erroneous, the other half must, of consequence, be right. * But I do not see the force of this logic. It is

* “It is there said of the radicals produced by me, *half at least* do not come up to the meaning, which I assign. From hence we must necessarily conclude, that the remainder do answer, and come up to the meaning. As he mentions *half at least*, we will for charity’s sake throw a small weight into the lighter scale, to bring it to an equipoise: and suppose them in round numbers half. And if this really be the case, I will compromise the affair, and gladly give up the other half without any dispute: for this concession is sufficiently in my favour.” *Apol.* p. 87.

a concession, which I have no where made : for indeed I never could do it with truth. But were I even to admit it, what benefit could his System possibly derive from it ? For, if names, supposed to be formed of various particles, are analysed ; and if the whole component parts are not justly explained ; a mistake in one, may lead us as far from the true signification, as if every member had been wrong. If, for example, the point is to prove, that *Cephale*, or *Ain Arez*, received their denominations from *Solar Worship* ; because *Caph-el* implied the *Mountain of the Sun*, and *Ain Arez* the *Solar Fountain* ; it will be of little consequence, whether *Caph* denotes a Hill, or *Ain* a Fountain ; unless *El* and *Arez* at the same time signify the *Sun*. For, if there is no evidence produced of this, the train of deduction must fall of course. And indeed the whole idea seems to be something like the apology of the apothecary, who had unluckily poisoned a patient, by mixing pernicious ingredients in his draught—“ Some of them, “ he allowed, might have been noxious : but “ he was sure the rest were uncommonly “ wholesome.” ^h

THE learned author will still perhaps talk of his Amonian, and call it the original language of man : and insist, that, in *it*, these

words *might* have had such and such meanings; though they are now no where to be found in the existing tongues. Yet this, it must be allowed, would afford, at best, but a sad foundation for a stupendous *System*: and the improbability of the whole might be very safely rested upon it. But I shall go further, and consider, how far there is even a possibility, that the original language of man, (were a miracle to reveal it to our knowledge) could be of the least use in such enquiries. It will not, I hope, be disputed, that the Confusion of Tongues was the immediate fore-runner of the Babel Dispersion: after which the language of the world became diversified into many dialects; with what degree of difference or analogy to the original, we are left entirely to opinion. If the Division of the Earth did not take place till the Dispersion, it is evident, there could not be one city or place, by land or by water, which had then received its name. For Babel itself was so called, subsequent to the Confusion; as we learn from Gen. xi. 9. But, supposing even, with the learned author, that the Migration was previous to the Dispersion, still the names of places must have been few: they must apparently have been involved in the general confusion; and must have been forgot-

ten, as well as the other parts of the original tongue. Idolatry, we may also observe, to the investigation of which he chiefly wishes to apply this original tongue, did not, even in his own opinion, make its appearance in the world, till the days of Serug; many ages after the Confusion of Tongues. False gods, temples, rites, and every circumstance of superstition, must, of consequence, have been wholly unknown, whilst the original language was in use. And when mankind became scattered over the earth, every new object they saw: all the works of their hands: every invention in sciences and arts: every institution of government or religion: must have all received their names in the various dialects, which the different tribes carried with them at the Dispersion; or afterwards improved. With what propriety then can he bewilder our senses, by pretending to resort to a language, which was annihilated, long before the names, which are attempted to be traced to it, had a being? When we call in the aid of language in our enquiries into primitive times, (which, judiciously done, may undoubtedly assist discovery) we should naturally have recourse chiefly to such dialects, as, before the existence of record, were spoken in the countries where the scene of our investigation lies.

And here incontestibly, in respect to the principal subjects of the *Analysis*, instead of applying to an *ignis fatuus*, as our learned author has done; the preference should have been given to the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldaic, the Syriac, the oldest known languages in the world: if indeed, from the same peculiar radical formation, and the infinite number of words which are common to all, they may not, with more propriety, be called dialects of the same tongue, than different languages. ⁱ

BUT, in truth, before we can presume to build at all upon names, we ought evidently to bring very convincing proof of the precise manner in which the natives themselves have written them: and also, that they were in being at the period to which our attention is directed: as we may otherwise go upon names, which never existed, but in corruption: or, which were not known till hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years posterior to the epocha of our researches. What a change in names, from fancy, from conquest, from corruption, do we not observe within these last two thousand years? Let us traverse the whole of the ancient classic ground, and then throw our eye over a modern map of the same countries: Is there one name, almost in an hundred,

which we can trace to a resemblance? And have we not reason to suppose, that they were equally fluctuating, at least, in times more ancient; when records were but few? How vague then must every investigation of this kind prove, till we positively know the original radical word? Yet this seldom appears to have been an object of consideration in the *Analysis*. Though the learned author is perpetually assuring us, that the Greeks were, of all people in the world, the greatest corruptors of foreign names; yet it is almost entirely from their mode of writing, sometimes indeed fancifully altered, without authority, that he analyses Eastern words: giving often to Asiatic names Grecian meanings; though his professed purpose is to disinvolve the whole from Grecian error. The ancient places, which he deduces from the word *Arca*, tho' apparently not known in any language earlier than the Latin, are out of all number. To support a new and very extraordinary system, in respect to Cadmus, he derives the name from *Achad Ham*, the noble lord *Ham* †.

† “ That Cadmus was the same as Ham, will appear
 “ from the etymology of his name. I have before shewn,
 “ that the Sun was stiled Achad, Achon, and Achor;
 “ and the name of which we are treating is a compound of

And, to trace the Amonians even to China, he brings examples of places, which, in all probability, had no existence before the conquests of Jengiz Khan ; and which are, at the same time, such mere European corruptions, that the people themselves could never know them. Amongst others, he introduces the Tartaro-Chinese city *Cambalu*, mentioned by Marco Paolo, the Venetian traveller. But we may

“ Achad-Ham, rendered by the Greeks Acadamus and Aca-
“ demus, and contracted Cadmus.” Vol. II. p. 157. Here
is one, among numberless instances, of conclusions being
drawn from premises, alledged to have been pre-established ;
which however, when examined, have no other bottom than
the learned author’s assertion. We are, in this place, re-
ferred for evidence, that Achad was the Sun, to p. 76. of
Vol. I. but, after looking with some attention, not only
to that page, but through the whole section, I could not
even discover the name, till I came to p. 83 ; where I
found these words : “ The Deity was likewise called
“ Achad and Achon.” Just one unproved assertion sup-
ported by another. But thus it is, almost through the
whole *System*. A supposition is sometimes made : some-
times the circumstance is decisively averred : and some-
times a proof is attempted, which fails perhaps in the
most essential part. Yet to such ground-works he con-
stantly refers. *I have already demonstrated : it has been for-
merly proved :* and similar phrases, occur in every page :
and he reasons from them with as much complacency, as
if they were equally self-evident as mathematical axioms.

as easily find the etymology of *Constantinople* in the Turkish corruption *Istambol*. The real name of *Cambalu* is *Khan balik*; which, in the Tartar language, means the *imperial city*, or the *residence of the Khan*. This place is supposed to be Pekin. There is another town in Little Bukhara, mentioned by Abulgazi Khan, called *Kham Balik*; which, he says, signifies, in the Mogul tongue, *The Good City* *.ⁱ

AMONG other endeavours, to trace the travels and settlements of the Cuthites, by the assistance of names, there are none which the learned author builds upon, with greater confidence, than those which he supposes to have been derived from *Noah*, from the *Ark*, and from *Chus*: I shall offer a few reasons for conceiving him to be radically wrong in them all. In the first place, in order to establish a variety of strange allegories, and to discover an analogy between Noah, and numberless persons and places, he goes against every received opinion; and makes the Greek *υξς* or *υοος*

* The same observation will hold, with regard to *Campion*, *Cambaiar*, and the other places he enumerates; which, however corrupted, are obviously formed, in part, either from *Khan* or *Kham*. But, indeed, we must think it somewhat odd, how he should have brought such words at all in proof of his hypothesis; when, in another place, he observes, that names in China are subject to perpetual change. Vid. *Myth.* Vol. III. p. 557. 568.

the *mind* to have been Noah : and under this he imagines much latent meaning to have been couched. “ Dios (he observes, “ Vol. II. p. 274.) was the ancient term “ from whence came the word Deus : and “ the name of Dionufus relates not to νοος “ mens, but to Νυφος, Noah ; being a com- “ pound of Dios-Nufos, for fo his name was “ properly expreffed. Hence Philoftratus fays, “ Νυπιος ὁ Διονυσιος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Νυφῆς οὐνομαζέται. “ This, as I have obferved, is fo far true, “ that Dionufus was ftiled Nufius and Nu- “ fus ; and explains the compofition of the “ former term. But it was not from the “ city of Nufa in India, nor from any of “ the cities called Nufa, for there were ma- “ ny, that he had his name : on the con- “ trary, they were all denominated from “ him. And this name was expreffed Noa, “ Noos, Nous, Nus, Nufus ; and otherwife “ varied. This the Grecians might have “ known, but they feem induftrioufly to have “ adopted it in a wrong fenfe : and in confe- “ quence of it, numberlefs abfurdities have “ arifen to the ruin of much good history.” And to the respectable catalogue of thefe ab- furdities, the learned gentleman feems indeed to have added very confiderably. I mean not however, at prefent, to embark upon fuch an

ocean : but shall only, as a prelude to a few observations, request of him to turn to p. 314 of his third Volume, and apply to himself the remarks he has there made upon Eusebius, Scaliger, Sir John Marsham, and others. “ They set out upon these facts as
 “ first principles; though they are the things,
 “ which want most to be canvassed : and
 “ when they have too inconsiderately made
 “ these assumptions, they put a force upon
 “ all other history, that it may be brought
 “ to accord.” *

Now where have we, in respect to Noah, the first principles established? Where have we any proof, that in any ancient language he was ever called Noas, Nous, or Nufus? In the Hebrew, as well as in the Chaldee paraphrase, the name is written נח *Nuh*. In the Hebrew-Samaritan and the Chaldee-Samaritan נח *Nuh*. In the Syriac ܢܚ *Nuh*. In the Arabic نوح *Nuh*. In the Septuagint Νωε. And in the Latin *Noë*.—Now these being the oldest languages that we know, and employed in the original and versions of the Sacred Writings, they seem to be the only sources to which we can be authorized to go for the name of the patriarch : yet our learned author, *suo periculo*, derives, from Noah, *Nyssa*, *Nusa*, *Nessa*, with numberless other

places, where such sounds are either simple or compounded with other words: and discovers, at the same time, a relationship between him and every god or hero of antiquity; but especially with those, whose names end in *nus* or *nusus*, or any similar termination.—*Dionusus* was the Patriarch; because his name shewed him to be the God Noah; because he was a great conqueror: and because he planted, in many countries, the vine!—*Saturnus* was also the Patriarch; because he was the sower Noah; and because he had four eyes; and because he was the father of the royal triad, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto! *Cro-nus* was Noah; because he was also the father of the royal triad!—*Janus* was Noah; because he had an old face and a young one; and because he had a stick, and a key, and a ship, and a temple!—*Prometheus* was Noah; because *us* was sometimes added to his name; because he was guardian of Egypt when there was a great overflowing of the Nile; and because Minerva co-operated with him in making men and women of clay!—*Silenus* was Noah; because his name in old Greek was the masculine of the Moon; because the Moon was a type of the Ark; and because he was a great prophet, and wrote a history of the world!—The whole range, in a word, of the old divinities, heroes, and

lawgivers, are discovered to have been Noah ; and the features of resemblance are equally new and striking. Some are Noah (as Osiris) because they went over the world with great armies ! some (as Poseidon) because they were husbandmen ! some (as Zeus) because they made fermented liquors ! and some, (as Perseus) because they were exposed in Arks ! I marvel indeed, how Moses escaped comparison : for he was undoubtedly exposed in an ark ; he was a prophet ; he instructed mankind ; and had a resemblance to Noah, many may imagine, fully as substantial as any in the catalogue. I really think too our friend Ovid might well have put in his claim : for he was called Naso, a mere transposition of *Naos*, Noah ; and this, at the same time, might explain, in a satisfactory manner, the undoubted etymology of the important word *nose*.—*Proteus*, among many others, is also deemed Noah : and there is certainly humour in this : for the old god never went through more metamorphoses than the great postdiluvian father of mankind has experienced in the hands of our learned author.—Eh ! qui fait si ce beau Systeme n'est pas, tout au long, un fort joli badinage ?

I AM apprehensive, that we shall not meet

with more success, upon etymological principles, in respect to a number of persons and places ; to whose names, he pretends to trace what he calls Arkite ceremonials, and derivations. We find Argo and the Argonauts, Arcas, Arcadia, Arcades, Acrisius, Acropolis, Arcasius, Arecca, Erec ; Argos, Argolis, Argæus, and many more : all which he derives from Arca, the ark. To support such a variety of derivations, upon which, indeed, some of the most valuable topics in the Analysis entirely depend ; we should naturally have expected evidence, that the Ark had been pronounced, in a manner somewhat like those names, in some, at least, of the more ancient tongues. But, till the Latin, comparatively a late language, no such word appears to have been known : whilst the names, in general referred to, are of very high antiquity. In the Hebrew, the Ark of Noah is written תִּבְהָ *tibeh*. In the Chaldaic תִּבְוֹתָא *tibuta*. In the Hebrew-Samaritan תִּבְהָ *tibeh*. In the Chaldee-Samaritan תִּבְוֹתָא *tibuteh*. In the Syriac כִּבְוֹתָא *kibouta*. In the Arabic تَابُوت *tabout*. In the Septuagint κιβωτος. Had these ancient places ever received their names from the Ark ; they must apparently have had a resemblance to some of the words mentioned above ; but never could be deno-

minated from a language, which was not known till many ages after these names were common. Yet, wonderful is the superstructure raised, without the least diffidence, upon this etymological basis. Even Hercules is thence demonstrated to be Noah; for the learned author says, (Vol. III. p. 507.) “From hence the Grecians and Romans denominated a personage, whom they stiled Heracles and Hercules. But the original was Arclus, and Arcalus; and still more truly without the termination Arca-El. It was not a name, but a title: and given by the Sidonians and other people in the East, to the principal person preserved in the Deluge; and it signified the great Arcalean or Arkite.” He might, with as much truth, have told us, that Hercules was Hurlothrumbó.—But it is impossible to enter into all the perplexities, which, upon this hypothesis, he has introduced into Ancient Mythology and History. They are all, indeed, not excepting even the greatest part of his boasted Argonautic Expedition, mere waking dreams: *tales, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.*^m

AMONGST other attempts which the learned gentleman has made to unhinge all received history, is his endeavour to remove the

Scythians from those Northern regions, where all the writers of Greece have placed them, in order to transform them into Cuthites, and transplant them into Babylonia. He has indeed told many a sad story of the Greeks. He has already said, that they did not know their right hands from their left. He is now labouring to prove, that they did not know the North from the South. And I should not be surprized, if, in his third edition, he attempted to prove, by the help of his friend Sam Joel, that they did not know a *town-bull* from a *turnip*. †ⁿ

† Our learned author, to use an ingenious phrase of his own, (note p. 461) *teems with wit even to a degree of super-satiation*. And there is nothing he will not do to show it. He will even employ his great genius in piddling away at verbal criticism, to prepare the reader *pour un tour d'esprit*. I had called the Deluge an important *era*: and most people may think, perhaps, that I was not very wrong. Now, though not a pin's point of argument could rest upon the word, in respect to the subject in question (to show which, in the present edition, p. 107. I have changed it to *event*, without in the least altering the sense of the whole); yet the ingenious gentleman, we see, has actually taken the advice of counsellor Joel, and indicted the inoffensive word for a trespass. “ It is plain at first sight, that he “ takes the fact, and the *era* of the fact, for one and the “ same thing: and time and circumstance are esteemed “ synonymous. It is certain (I know not how truly)

OUR author observes, (Pref. to Vol. I. p. ix.) “ It will be one part of my labour to
 “ treat of the Phenicians, whose history has
 “ been much mistaken : also of the Scythians,
 “ whose original has been hitherto a secret.
 “ From such an elucidation many good conse-
 “ quences will, I hope, ensue : as the Phen-
 “ cians and Scythians have hitherto afforded
 “ the usual place of retreat for ignorance to
 “ shelter itself.” °

Now the learned gentleman, who, in his *Apology*, has often mentioned his veneration for Logic, must certainly be informed of a

“ that we are apt in general to make a material distinction
 “ between them. We are taught to think, that an event,
 “ and the date of the event, convey two distinct ideas.
 “ Which ever side may be in the right, the inquiry is
 “ certainly curious : and deserves to be prosecuted. To
 “ be therefore certain of the truth, I applied to an honest
 “ countryman, one Sam Joel, in my neighbourhood, that
 “ I might have, not a learned, but a plain and rational
 “ solution of the question. Pray, says I, honest Sam, do
 “ not you believe, that there is some difference between a
 “ man and a month ; between sheep-shearing and the
 “ tenth of June ? Why really, Sir, says he, I do not
 “ quite see, what you drive at. Why then, says I, take
 “ it in another light. Do not you think my Lord Mayor
 “ is different from my Lord Mayor’s day ? Ay master,
 “ says he, to be sure : as different as a *town-bull* from a
 “ *turnip*. I mention this, because I think arguments

fundamental maxim, “ That no conclusions
“ in argument can be just, where the pre-
“ mises are not previously demonstrated to be
“ true.” I have already given some reasons
for thinking, that this golden rule has not al-
ways been religiously attended to in the *Ana-*
lysis : and here, I am afraid, it may be equal-
ly difficult to be discovered. As a funda-
mental point, which he conceives to be too
obvious to require evidence, he tells us, that
Chus [and *Cuth* are the same ; the last being
merely the Chaldaic manner of writing it.
But, as he has not thought it necessary to

“ taken from unsophisticated reason are far more forcible,
“ than those which are framed by art and logic ; and even
“ than those, which are founded upon non-experience.”

Apology, p. 73.— Now, after all, honest Sam Joel seems
rather to have been taken in here. I am afraid there has
been a flaw in the brief. His learned friend has hardly
stated the case quite fair. And Sam may tell him, per-
haps, at their next chat, that the *glorious first of August*
has as little connexion with the *accession of the House of*
Hanover, or with the *Battle of Minden*, as my Lord Mayor
has with his day : but that, nevertheless, when he drinks
this toast, he wishes always heartily well to his king and
country. Sam may also hint to him, that he might pos-
sibly be, at times, a little puzzled, were he to take every
thing *au pied de la lettre* : for should his learned friend be
desired at any time to drink a bottle, he might find it,
perhaps, a little hard, to be obliged to swallow the flask.

support the position, I cannot think it necessary to believe it: and although it may not be incumbent upon me to prove a negative, where no affirmative has been attempted, I shall just offer a few reasons, why I imagine it to be groundless. ^p

THE sons of Cush, by all writers, I believe, till our learned author patronized them, have been considered as the woolly-headed natives of Ethiopia, and other African districts. And in this sense I think we shall uniformly find כוש *Chus* or *Cush* to be used in Scripture; whilst כְּתִים (Heb.) *Chutim* Pure gold; כּוּת *Chut* (Chald.) As, like; and כּוּתָּה *Cuthah* The people whom Salmanassar sent from Assyria or Chaldea, to inhabit Samaria after the Captivity of the ten tribes of Israel; are very different words: and never, at any time, confounded with *Cush*. The Chaldees or Babylonians are in Scripture written כְּשָׁדִים *Chesdim*, the plural of כְּשֵׁד *Chesed*; supposed by Walton, Hyde, and others, to have been so named, from *Chesed* the son of Nahor, brother to Abraham. The Chaldee paraphrase writes it כְּשָׁדַי *Chesdai*. The Hebrew-Samaritan כְּשֵׁדִים *Chesdim*. In Daniel (ch. i. 4.) where there is a mixture of Chaldee and Persian, it is כְּשָׁדִי *Chesdi*; in the Syriac כְּשָׁדִי *Chesdi*; and in the Arabic كَسْدَائِيْن *Kes-*

dayin.—Every circumstance relative to Cush is quite distinct. In the Chaldee paraphrase it is כוש *Chush*; in Chaldee-Samaritan ܟܘܫ *Cush*; in Syriac ܟܘܫ *Cush*; and in Arabic حبش *Habesh* or حبشة *Habsbet*: and wherever translated, it is rendered *The Ethiopian*.—If the learned gentleman has got more powerful evidence, he will do right to produce it. Till then, he will be equally successful in persuading me, that *John*, *James*, and *Joseph*, are the same names; because, like *Cush*, *Cutah*, and *Chestdim*, they begin with the same letter. Indeed such authorities, to which may be added Buxtorf and other Lexicons, must, I think, in the mind of every man, whose only object is impartiality, strike decisively against the basis of his System; which is untenable, in fact, upon almost every ground; and even against the very name of *Cuthites*, as connected with the sons of *Cush*.^a

THE learned gentleman, I may here observe, seems to be a little troubled, because I have called his favourite people, in general, *Cuthites*, and not likewise *Amonians* *. As

* “The Amonians, of whom he speaks, were collectively the offspring of Amon, the same as Ham. Why does he limit the title to the Cuthites, who were one branch only; when it related to the whole family? It is

I look upon them merely as the ephimerides of a day, it certainly matters very little how they are named. Yet, methinks, he must have been much at a loss for substantial faults, when he blamed me for having, in this respect, followed implicitly the lead of their godfather. Upon re-considering the point, however, I really cannot see what pretensions the Cuthites, in any light, have to the name of Amonians; as this general denomination could only, with propriety, suit the whole family. The great bent of his System, is to make the Cuthites distinct and separate from all their collaterals. They were not in league with the other branches of Ham. They were joined only, as he informs us, by some straggling apostates; and these indiscriminately from the lines of Shem and Japhet, as well as from that of Ham. If ever a people on earth, then, according to every characteristic which he gives us of them, should have been strictly and invariably denominated by their own peculiar patronymic, it must have been the Sons of Cush. He

true, that I admire his vivacity, and quickness in deciding, though I smart for it. Yet it is a pity, as he teems with words even to a degree of superfoetation, that he is not as curious as abundant." *Apology*, p. 68. Our author is full of humour on every point.

presents them as the lawless and unprovoked invaders of the inheritance of others ; and the Mizraim, he tells us, were amongst the first whom they attacked, subdued, and oppressed. How indefinite and improper then does the Amonian name become, when applied to the Cuthites alone ? Where is the actual term of distinction between them and the families of Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan ? Might he not, with almost equal reason, call them Noachites ? Might he not go even a step further, and call them Lamechites ? Might he not, indeed, go upwards through the whole antediluvian line, to the father of mankind ? For they might, with nearly equal accuracy, be styled Adamites, as Amonians ; a name which could never discriminate them from those very people, with whom they are supposed to have been chiefly at variance.

BEFORE I take leave of this head, I shall just make an observation or two on a mode of quotation, too often adopted by systematic writers ; of inserting just as much only of a passage as suits their views ; and omitting or reprobating the rest. Our author, in order to prove that the Chaldeans and Persians were of the line of Cush ; and that they were all Scythians, says, (Vol. III. p. 177.) “ The
“ prophet Isaiah distinguishes those nations

“ very accurately, when he mentions a re-
 “ turn of the captives from *Elam*, *Chus*, and
 “ *Shinar*. This country is also said to have
 “ been called Scutha; and the author of the
 “ Chronicon Paschale mentions Scuthæ in
 “ these parts, who were so called even in
 “ his days. But he supposes, that the name
 “ Scutha was given to the region, on ac-
 “ count of I know not what, Scythians from
 “ the North.” Now the prophet seems clear-
 ly here *, to mean the recovery of the rem-
 nant of the people; not from one or two par-
 ticular regions; but from every place where
 they may have been in bondage. Why then
 mention only three of those places, and be
 silent on all the rest? For no other reason,
 in my apprehension, but to impress us with
 the idea, that Cush alone being mentioned
 along with Elam and Shinar (generally ima-
 gined to be Persia and Chaldea) the country
 of the Cuthites might be readily supposed to
 have been somewhere in their neighbourhood.
 Whilst, on the contrary, the inserting of

* “ And it shall come to pass in that day, that the
 Lord shall set his hand again the second time, to recover
 the remnant of the people which shall be left, from Assy-
 ria, and from Egypt, and from Pathos, and from Cush,
 and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands
 of the sea.” Isaiah ch. xl. 11.

Egypt and Pathos, by directing our attention towards Ethiopia, must have left us at no loss for the residence of the sons of Cush ; and, consequently, have overturned the whole hypothesis, which he has been there endeavouring to establish. *

IN respect again to the Chronicon, he rejects precisely the words which make the whole probable. It is there expressly said, that these Scythians came from the North ; a circumstance, which, if true, may be easily accounted for. In old times, wars were long waged, with various success, between the Persians, and the Scythians or Turanians. The Persians themselves acknowledge, that their empire was, at one time, for some years, under the Turanian yoke. Bodies of those people might, in consequence, have naturally enough established themselves in various parts of their new conquests. And, when the Persian kings recovered their independency, they might neither judge it necessary nor political, to depopulate their provinces ; by driving out colonies, which, by proper management, would soon become naturalized and valuable subjects. †

UPON the whole, as I always wish to prefer the learned gentleman's own words, when

apposite, to any which I can throw together, I shall beg leave to make free with a few more, which he has addressed to M. Pezron: (substituting only *Scythic* and *Cuthites*, for *Celtic* and *Sacæ*) “ Thus is this fairy vision
 “ brought to an end”—“ The whole *Scythic*
 “ system is ruined: for the *Cuthites*, upon
 “ whom it depended, are stopped in their ca-
 “ reer, and no more heard of: and all this from
 “ the authorities to which he appeals. Such
 “ too frequently are the quotations made use
 “ of by people of an eager disposition; which,
 “ as they are introduced, answer but in part;
 “ when examined, are totally repugnant. His
 “ reasoning throughout is carried on by a
 “ chain, of which not one link is fairly con-
 “ nected.” ”

It must be confessed, at the same time, that there is not a little humour in our learned author's going gravely round the world; and picking up his *ons*, and his *els*, and his *urs*; his *fans*, and his *bals*, and his *hams*: and, after hustling them all together, producing them to us, curiously variegated, inlaid, and hooked one with another: and then telling us, with a most engaging presence of mind, that such a name on the Malabar coast must have precisely such a meaning; because *On*, an Egyptian particle, is actually supposed to have been the

Sun: and, that we cannot surely question the derivation of a Chinese town, when we consider, that *Ham* and the Babylonish *Baal* are strongly suspected to have been the *Sun* also. When we find, at the same time, these discoveries, not merely hazarded as reveries, but considered as too obvious to need interpretation * : I really think we need not be much astonished, if a fancy so lively and creative, should, in a fourth volume, demonstrate to us, in a manner equally satisfactory; that the only real ancient religion was the *worship of Broomsticks* : and that every language on earth, was actually derived from the *Dutch*. When we observe, indeed, *Satur-nus* brought from Noah; *Cadmus* from *Ham*, and *Eudoreschus* from *Chus*; we cannot well help recollecting Swift's idea of tracing the old Greek and Trojan names to the British isles; and giving *Andrew Mackie* as the radix of *Andromache*; *Patrick Lees*, of *Patrocles*; or *Busy fellows*, of *Bucephalus*. And, indeed, I am sometimes inclined to think, that, had the recapture of Calcutta been only placed some

* "We read of Onor, Canonor, Candonor, all terms relating to the Sun and Fire. Calicut, Calcutta, Cotate, Comar, Comarin, Cottia, Cathaia, are of an etymology too obvious to need an interpretation." Vol. III. p. 207.

thousands of years earlier in the annals of the world, the learned author would have coincided perfectly in opinion with our honest tars; that the Nabob *Suraja Dowla* was by no means an Indian prince, but a very genuine English knight, by the stile and title of *Sir Roger Dowlas*.^w

BUT I must draw to a conclusion. When I sent the first of these sheets to press, I intended to have touched upon several points, which more important engagements oblige me now to decline. I meant, in particular, to have considered the learned gentleman's ideas of the Atlantides, the Argonauts, and the Amazons; of Perseus, Hercules, Orpheus, Cadmus; with whom, as well as with many more of our old school-friends, he has played the very devil; or, which is worse, he has metamorphosed them into Cuthites. Well! after all, these Cuthite woolly heads are the handiest fellows imaginable. They are a wonderful menstruum. There is not a difficulty in ancient times which they do not dissolve at once. Like quack medicines, they cure all diseases. They are set a-scampering over every inch of old heroic ground. They cut the throats of half the world, and cram the rest with science. They are, in short, *Mungo here, Mungo there, Mungo everywhere*. Indeed,

indeed, I am much afraid they have been put to rather too hard duty ; and are, at length, thrown into a galloping consumption. In charity then, I think their learned fire should prepare with decency for their interment. And if he has got never a better epitaph, he may take the hint from the first creation of his favourite Belus :

THE ANIMALS

SO LATELY CREATED,

**UNABLE TO BEAR THE PREVALENCE OF
LIGHT,**

D I E D.

S E C T. VI.

C O N C L U S I O N.

AS the learned gentleman, towards the end of his *Apology*, has suddenly changed from the third person, and apostrophized me in the first, I shall do myself the honour of imitating him at a respectful distance.

I B E G leave, Sir, to return you my best acknowledgments for the kind notice you have taken of me. I have only my concern to express for one circumstance; and that indeed is for your own reputation: to which I think you have not been sufficiently attentive. So excellent a performance as your *Apology*, should not have been circulated in so private a manner. There are many good things in it, which it were a pity should be so much lost to the public. I flatter myself you will reflect upon this; and make it the prologue or epilogue to the third edition of your *Analysis*. And this, let me tell you, may answer, at the same time, another good purpose. It will place it more in security

from pirates: for really, in its present fugitive state, it is greatly to be feared, that the proprietors of *Joe Millar's Jests*, or *The Pills to purge Melancholly*, may think it fair game; and enrich their facetious publications with your *Costive Lord*, *Sam Joel*, *Dr. Baldero*, and many more of your very best things:—if indeed they have them not already; which I have, at present, no opportunity of learning.*

IF I have not paid a proper attention to every valuable observation, with which your *Apology* abounds, I beg you will attribute it to the true cause; want of time. You have, among other things, repeatedly observed, that I had borrowed from you largely; and I really thought that I had, in return, made every acknowledgment and reference usual on such occasions. But as you do not seem to have so conceived it, I shall request your permission to insert an exact bill of parcels in the notes. Indeed your zeal, upon this occasion, is most commendable: for, as Horace says,

— *si fortè suas repetitum venerit olim*
Grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus.

You, Sir, I am sensible, have judged more prudently than I have done. You have steered clear of live authors. You have made free only with the dead; and they tell no tales.

They are not clamorous creditors. They bristle not up their porcupine quills. These, without acknowledgment, you may borrow from and abuse. They still are silent.^b

YOUR flattering compliment on my veneration for ignorance, is also conveyed with your usual pleasantries *. Indeed, Sir, I know but little : and it is natural enough to like what assimilates with one's own ideas. Upon the present great occasion too, I am afraid, I have helped rather to confirm your opinion : for, had I been at all wise, I should certainly have called in the assistance of my learned friends ; to have enabled me to make a show above my own slender means. But, just as I was thinking of this, happening to read in old Æsop, how the gnat went boldly to attack the lion ; and how he tickled the lion's nostril ; and how the lion scratched himself, and roared : I said, with old Kecksey in the farce, Who's afraid ? My little band shall take the field alone. I derived courage also, from the consideration, that infantry have, in general, the better of cavalry : and, as I could not doubt, but your

* “ Indeed the author seems to shew the same veneration for ignorance, as the Turks do for folly : who never see an idiot but they think him inspired.” *Apology*, p. 72.

worship, like any errant knight, would still keep mounted on your *Cuthite* hobby-horse, I fancied, it might not be quite impossible, by clapping a little pepper, precisely in the place where your friend Scoggan peered for the qualities of his horse, to make your cavaletto cut a caper, and bathonically *incline his rider's head to seek the nether sky*. Indeed, nothing in the world seems more happily calculated to illustrate your friend's idea of the *Suspended Progression* (*Apol.* p. 92.) than this same systematic hobby; which long may your honour bestride. You seem, it is true, to make great advances; but get not one step forward. You appear to be carried on; but after a little hurry of spirits, and a few giddy evolutions, you, and the friends who mount behind you, are set down exactly where you set out. Nothing indeed can better explain it, as you remark, than the operation of the *Catulus culinarius five canis εν περιτροχιῳ Bathoniensium*; which we find thus expressed by the poet;

—— *Orbiculo fertur revolutus eodem*
Progrediturque retro præceps scanditque deorsum.

AND now, my good Sir, permit me to take leave, with every wish of success to the third edition of your work †; which you obligingly

† “ And now, good sir, give me leave in the most amicable manner to conclude. You took notice in a particu-

tell me I have contributed so much to advance : for it is undoubtedly, as you observe, in regular passage, that you thought it your duty to defend the merits of the Persian and Arabian languages. You cannot but think me under an obligation to stand up for my own writings. I hope therefore, that what I have said, will be taken in good part. You have certainly in some instances nearly cancelled the kind compliments, which you made me : but in general you have behaved with very great politeness. Your standing up in my defence against the persons who traduced me abroad, does as much honour to yourself as to me : and lays me under an obligation, which I shall be always ready to acknowledge. Though I may have smiled at your borrowing from me, and placing your references in the rear : yet I am very happy, that there was any thing worth your taking. Indeed I am under other obligations to you beside the above. As there are several copies of my Analysis still remaining in the bookseller's hands, no body writes against me, but what some of them go off. Mr. Barrington did me the honour to call me to an account ; I suppose not less than twenty copies went upon the occasion. The Dean of Exeter made some kind strictures both upon me and Mr. Barrington : this carried off about the same number. Anonymous benefited me by about fifteen. Another Anonymous ten : Ditto eight. My friends of Amsterdam not quite so many. When I was in town some weeks ago, Mr. Elmsly (whose zeal for his author can never be sufficiently admired) took me aside, and shewed me the very Dissertation, upon which we have been dwelling so largely. It came out, says he, but yesterday ; and I sold two of your copies last night ; and one this morning. He then added with a whisper, — *If they abuse you much longer, we must have a third edition.*" Apol. p. 98.

spect to the Grecian writers, a rich mine, though mixed with base concretions. You, Sir, have kindly loaded me with much good advice. Permit me, in return, to offer you a little; though I am much afraid, indeed, it may experience the fate of your's. It will be neglected. But it is nevertheless wholesome: and, if followed, instead of *three*, I should not despair of seeing *thirty* editions in a very short time. To reduce your *System* to those strange things called Truth or Reason, might well be viewed as the eleventh labour of Hercules. I could not counsel you to that Augean task. My recipe is short and simple. Change but the Title, and all is well. Expunge *A New Analysis*, and read *A New Romance of Ancient Mythology*.^c

P R O O F S

A N D

I L L U S T R A T I O N S.

Sect. I. Page. 294. ^f SEE Mr. Bryant's Mythology,
Vol. I. p. 158.

P. 297. ^k Plato de Legibus, l. iii. Cicero Epist. ad
Quintum Fratrem.

P. 299. ^l Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, Vol. I,
p. 257.

P. 300. ^m Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. 256, 273, 408,
409, 416. Newton's Chron. p. 8, 265, &c. Universal
Hist. Vol. II. (fol. edit.) p. 87. Vossii Chron. Sacr. p.
183.

P. 302. ⁿ Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. p. 454. Vossii
Chron. Sacr. p. 215.

P. 355. ^p Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. on the Babylonian
and Assyrian dynasties.

P. 308. ^q Esther ch. vi. 1, 2. Ezra ch. iv. 15, &c.
vi. 1, &c.

P. 309. ^r Herodot Weffeling. l. vii. p. 538. et seq.
Isocrat. Panathenaicos, p. 381. Dr. Gillies's Orations

of Lyfias and Ifocrates, p. 42. Diodor. Rhodoman. lib. ii. p. 243—5. Pliny l. 33. c. 10. Ælian. var. hift. l. 13. c. 3. Plutarch in Themift.

P. 310. ^u Herodot. l. vii. p. 612. Diodor. l. ii. p. 259.

P. 315. ^x Herodot. l. iii. p. 244. Gillies's Introduct. to Orations of Lyfias and Ifocrates, p. xiv. Curtius l. v. Diodor. l. 18. Arrian l. iii. c. 16. Justin. l. 13. Alexander, we are told, found above 350,000 thousand talents in the different treasuries of the Perfian empire, and the annual revenue received, according to Justin, was 300,000 talents, above 58,000,000*l*. This is apparently much exaggerated; being above twenty-one times more than the revenue of Darius Hyftafpes, according to Herodotus.

P. 516. ^v Diodor. l. 17. Curtius l. 3, &c. Justin l. 10, &c. Arrian l. 1, 2, &c. Justin makes the Perfian army, at the paffage of the Granicus, 620,000; and Arrian 200,000: but Diodorus is generally followed, whose numbers are 110,000.

P. 318. ^e Diodor. l. 4. Strabo l. 4. Appian fays, that Cæfar killed one million of Gauls; and took another million prifoners. But Paterculus makes the number flain only 400,000, which agrees beft with Cæfar himfelf. By thefe calculations, if we even had not the commentaries of the conqueror, we might form a judgment of the difficulties of fuch conquests; and how far the mere idea of a fupremacy over an extent of territory, will often carry the moft enlightened people.

P. 319. ^d Herod. l. vii. p. 546, &c. Diodor. l. 11. &c.

P. 320. ^f Herod. et Diodor. ^u *ubi fupra*. Gillies's Intr. to Orat. of Lyfias and Ifocrates, p. xvii.

P. 322. ^g Gillies's Orat. of Lyfias and Ifocrates, p. 55.

P. 328. ¹ Hume on the populousness of ancient nations, Vol. II. edit. 1760. p. 230.

P. 329. ^m As I shall bid adieu to Oriental learning, and indeed to every other literary pursuit, the moment I have completed the second volume of my Dictionary; I take this opportunity of offering my opinion on the fate of this branch of learning. Unless some steady plan of encouragement is adopted by those who have power to promote it, it must apparently languish in a state of lethargy, hardly differing from a non-existence: for, till young men in general shall have the prospect of recommending themselves by such pursuits, one or two, or half a dozen in a nation, can never go very far in the improvement of any science. Had mathematics been as little followed, we had never seen a Newton. Had Greek been as much neglected, we should have had few of the excellent works which have been formed upon their models. Were an hundred students to attach themselves to Eastern tongues, instead of not a twentieth part, perhaps; an half, possibly, of these might make considerable progress; and a few might arrive at perfection. What the life and leisure of one or two men must be quite unequal to, a few years of such a number might easily accomplish. Manuscripts, which, at present, might almost as well be at Japan, would then be explored: and, from among a great many of small value, some real literary treasures would perhaps be discovered, in which religion, history, and general science, might be greatly interested.

Sect. II. P. 331. حلوٰن *hulwan*, کابین *kabeen*, or کاوین *kaveen*, A marriage portion; also, paraphernalia in

the disposal of the wife. *صداق* *sadak* A marriage settlement.

P. 333, &c. ^{c d e f g h} See Abulpharaj's dynasties—Eutychius's Annals. — Tarikhu'l'Moslemin. — D'Herbelot, p. 338. Abulghazi Khan, part ii. ch. 15. — The favourite widow of Tuli Khan, son of Jengiz Khan, governed as regent, during the minority of her children *Abulgazi Khan*, part ii. ch. 9. The Tartar women in general, and especially those to the North and East sides of the Caspian Sea, from the earliest accounts of those parts, have gone to war, armed in the same manner as the men. Among the captives and hostages taken by Pompey from the Iberians and Albanians, after the defeat of Mithridates, there were a number of women who were much wounded. *Appian. Bell. Mithrid. Ed. Steph.* p. 242. Basilius Batozi, in his Greek map of the Caspian Sea, printed at London 1730, says, (Art. 4.) that he saw two virgin warriors of the Casac country, who had been taken prisoners by the Bucharians, inhumanly put to death in cold blood. — See also *Wise on the first Inhabitants, &c. of Europe*, p. 22. Likewise the *Sieur Bernier* on the beauty and bravery of the Tartar women. And *Abulgazi*, p. 460, 639.

P. 340. ⁱ The Vizir Nezam's Instructions to his son.

P. 341. ^k *نقل* *nukl* Presents sent by a bridegroom to his bride. *شغار* *shighar* A double treaty of marriage, to avoid paying portions.

P. 342. ^l D'Herbelot, p. 436.

P. 343. ^m *قلب* *kelb*, *نثار* *nisar*, *ماخ* *makh*, *نبهرج* *nabehrej*, *نبهرة* *nebehré* Bad money, which they usually throw among the populace at marriage processions. *نخم* *nekhem*

or *تكم tekhem* Cloths stretched on sticks, in which they catch the money, sweetmeats, &c. thrown away on those occasions.—See also Abulghazi Khan, p. 482.

P. 344. ⁿ *شیربها sheerbeha* The portion or presents which a bride carries to her future husband. These are also called *رخت عروس rukhti aroos*, and *عقر ساف saaf*. *عقر اker* A bride's portion : also a compensation for vitiated virginity.—Amianus Marcellinus observes, that it was common for the Arabian brides to present their husbands with a spear and a tent. — See a variety of new and judicious observations on the importance of women, on the Morgengabe, the dower, and other matrimonial customs among the old Germans, and other European nations ; in a work of elegance and deep research, lately published, intituled, *A View of Society in Europe*, by Gilbert Stuart, LL.D. p. 19, 33, &c. See also Tacit. de Morib. Germ. c. 18.

P. 344. ^o *کابین kabeen* A dower paid to a wife, if divorced without a cause. *خلع khela* A divorce, at the request of the wife ; on which occasion she gives up all her marriage settlements, and the presents she had received from her husband. The same ideas prevail among the Tartars. See Abulgazi Khan, p. 484. *تخلیل tubleel* Marrying a thrice-divorced woman. *سبکتگین sebuktegeen* A divorced woman returning to her husband, and cohabiting with him, without the ceremony of a re-marriage : which is esteemed infamous.

P. 345. ^p *المتهمة almutah* Marrying a temporary wife. This word signifies also *enjoyment*. — See also D'Herbelot, p. 473, 581.

P. 346. ۱ See Dr. Stuart's view of Society in Europe, p. 237.

P. 347. ۲ *مقت* *makt* The hated marriage: where a man married his father's widow—Abulgazi Khan, Part II. ch. 8.—Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland, p. 39.—Dr. Stuart's View of Society in Europe, p. 197.—Abulgazi Khan, p. 406.—*ربصت* *ribset* A certain time allowed a woman to marry again; if her husband, when abroad, did not return. — *حلال* *helal* A woman laying aside mourning for her husband, at the end of 110 days, during which time she cannot re-marry. *نشان* *nishan* Marrying by a ring. See also Dictionary *سرب* *serb*.

See an ingenious Discourse prefixed to the Orations of Lyfias and Isocrates, lately published by John Gillies, L. L. D. for a number of curious facts relative to the severity and disrespect with which women were treated in ancient Greece, p. xcvi.

P. 348. ۳ *گلگونہ* or *گلگون* *gulghun* Rose-colour; *سرخاب* *surkhab* Red water; *شنجار* *shinjar*, *حمره* *humreh*, *ارخندہ* *arkhundeh*, Different kinds of red colours used in painting the face, nails, &c. *سفیدہ* *sefideh*, *سپیدہ* *sepideh*, or *سپیداب* *sepidab* White water; *سپیدہ زنان* *sepideh zenan* Ladies white; *هرهفت* *herheft*; A kind of ceruse; also a reddish white; *صفرا* *safra* and *غمره* *ghumret* Saffron; *ورس* *wers* and *ایراس* *iras* A yellow wash for the face; *کھل* *kuhl* A black collyrium for painting the eyes; *عصام* *asam* Another kind of collyrium; *راسخت* *raskhut* An oil expressed with a hot iron from a preparation

of antimony and galls; with which they tinge the eyebrows and lashes of a fine black. *سلتا* *salta* A flattern, negligent of her dress; who neither colours her hair nor nails. *کتم* *kitem* An herb which, mixed with Cyprus or privet, makes a dye for the hair. *غسله* *ghuslet* Perfumes with which women sprinkle their hair while combing. In some parts of Arabia they paint the lips black; which is called *لعل* *la-as*. The wild Arabs prick figures on their skin, and then rub it over with woad, indigo, or saffron; which leaves an indelible impression. This operation they name *وشم* *weshim* or *نسخ* *nesigh*. *موتشر* *muteshir* Having the teeth thinned and sharpened by art. *واشرة* *washiret* A woman whose profession it is to thin and sharpen the teeth.

P. 350. ^w The following is a verse of the Persian Poet Hafez :

اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست ارد دل مارا
بخال هندویش بخشم سمرقندو بخارارا

Egher an turki Shirazi bedest ared dili mara
Bekhali henduish bakhshem Samarcandu Bokharara.

If that lovely maid of Shiraz would accept my heart, I would give for the mole on her cheek the cities of Samcand and Bukhara.

P. 352. ^{*} *سرخوج* *serkhooj* A plume of feathers adorned with gold and jewels; with which the Persian ladies and great men orament their head-dress. *کرتک* *kurtek* and *زلف* *zulf* The feathers of herons, cranes, ostriches, and other birds, in the heads of women and men of rank. The Bukharian or Usbec women let their hair flow down

their backs, and braid it with pearls and other jewels. The Calmaks of Little Bukhara wear their ear-rings very long, almost touching their shoulders, and dress their hair with embroidered ribbons, and tassels of silk, wrought with gold and silver, which reach to their heels. Abulgazi, p. 456, 477. سرش *serish* or سريوش *seriyush* and معجر *majer* A veil. سرخاره *serkhareh* A golden bodkin, with which the veil is fastened to the head-dress. سبط *synt* A long necklace, hanging down the bosom. خلد *kheled* Ear-rings; also bracelets. قرط *kyret* An ear-ring for the lob. شنف *shenf* A ring for the top of the ear. فتخة *fetkhet* A plain ring without a bezel, either for the hands or feet. قلادة *keladet* زه *zeh* Ornaments for the neck, &c. مرفد *murfed*, عظمة *azmet*, رفاعه *rafat* Cushions, or quilting of the petticoats, to give a prominence. See also Abulgazi Khan, p. 610. The Tungos Tartar women consider it as a beauty to mark their face with black spots. Abulgazi, p. 639.

P. 352. ^v D'Herbelot, p. 689.

SECT. III. p. 359. ^d Preliminary Discourse to Sale's Koran.—D'Herbelot, p. 514.

P. 358. ^e D'Herbelot, p. 257.

P. 359. ^f Tarikhu'l'moslemin, (the Historia Saracenica of Erpenius) p. 286.

P. 360. ^{g h i k} See Tarikh Salaheddin, Ben Shounah, and various other Historians on the life of Saladin, and the Cruzades: Vertot Histoire de l'Ordre de Malte, Vol. i. p. 207, &c.—D'Herbelot, p. 108, 194, 453, 505, 544, 634.—And the Histories of England, under the reign of Edward I.

P. 364. ¹ Epictet. Enchirid. Sect. 33, 43.

P. 366. ^b D'Herbelot, p. 535.—P. 368. ^c Ib. p. 433.—P. 370. ^d See Tarikhu'l'moslemin, p. 116. D'Herbelot, p. 3, 190, 388.—P. 375. ^e Ib. p. 442.—P. 377. ^f Ib. p. 170, 888.—P. 377. ^g Ib. p. 432.—P. 379. ^h Ib. p. 537.

CHAP. II. SECT. I. P. 382. ^c See Boileau, Sat. ix. l. 171, 176.

P. 385. ^e For various examples of the manner in which our learned author treats preceding writers, see the *Analysis*, passim.—For one or two specimens turn to p. 433, 451, 465, of this Dissertation.

P. 386. ^g See Apol. p. 68, 78, 89, &c.

———— The first edition of the [Dissertation] was published in November last. When the *Apology* appeared I cannot tell. I was favoured with it about the end of March or beginning of April. Though the first edition of the Dissertation was then sold off, as the Booksellers repeatedly informed me, I did not mean to have interrupted more necessary business, by attending to the second, till towards winter. But, on receiving Mr. Bryant's favour, I resolved to take the earliest opportunity, that the press would permit, to return my compliments for such polite notice. I have only further to observe, that my Bookseller (Mr. Murray) wrote to me of date the 8th of June, after the sheet, to which this note refers, was printed; that Mr. Bryant, on *the 27th of April*, had sent him a copy of his pamphlet, for my use: but, as he knew I had got it before, he had not thought of mentioning it sooner. Though late, and not sent in the properest manner, yet I think it fair to mention this circumstance; to return the learned gentleman my thanks; and to beg his acceptance

of my Dissertation ; which I shall order to be forwarded the moment of publication.

SECT. II. p. 389. ^b The Samaritan Pentateuch, we may observe, differs both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint, in respect to the era of the Deluge, which it fixes in the year of the creation 1307. Some of the copies of the Septuagint make it to have happened in the year 2242 ; Josephus in 2256 ; and Dr. Jackson chuses to follow him. How these discrepancies arose the learned have been much divided. Those who espouse the Hebrew chronology, among whom are Usher, Walton, Father Simon, and many others, suppose an alteration to have been made by the Septuagint translators (who first turned the Hebrew into Greek, about 280 years before the Christian era, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt) in order to reconcile it better with Greek chronology. But the advocates for this version, particularly Isaac Vossius and Dr. Jackson, insist, that the patriarchal genealogies were adulterated by the Jews in the second century of the Christian era ; in order to give them above 1400 years more for the coming of their Messiah.—Among many objections, however, which may be made to this theory, they do not seem to have explained in a satisfactory manner, how a people, then scattered over the whole earth, and who had never been unanimous in any thing, should have so exactly agreed to alter every copy, in different places of the world ; so as to make them all, in this particular, perfectly alike.—The lives of the Antediluvian and Postdiluvian patriarchs, it may be noticed, with one or two exceptions, are of the same duration in all : the disagreements arising from the ages at which they are supposed to have begot their sons. Adam, for exam-

ple, is, by the Hebrew Bible, said to have begot Seth at the age of 130 ; and to have lived afterwards 800 years : but by the Septuagint, he begat Seth when 230 years old, and lived after that time 700. The difference of time which grows from the whole is 1422 years : the period from the creation to the Christian era being, by the Hebrew, 4004 years : by the Septuagint 5426. Those who wish to see the conjectures of the learned on this subject, may consult the Prolegomena to Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible : Usher's Chronology : Father Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament : Isaac Vossius on the Septuagint : Capellus's Chronologia Sacra : Dr. Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History : Dr. Jackson's Chronological Antiquities : and others.

P. 393. ^f Mythology, Vol. III. p. 355, 365. In my Bible, the Exodus is dated in 1491 : but Walton, in his Prolegomena to the Polyglot, (p. 7.) makes it in 1496, or in the year of the world 2508.

P. 394. ^g Our learned author treats poor Pliny rather hardly on another occasion, for having made one slight stumble, in a matter of small comparative importance : and which may, after all, be an error in transcribing. He deems him wholly unworthy of credit, on the following ground : “ As to the high antiquity assigned to letters by
“ Pliny ; it is impossible to give any credence to that au-
“ thor, who from 720 years infers eternity, and speaks of
“ those terms as synonymous.” Myth. Vol. III. p. 125. Plinii Nat. Hist. l. 7. p. 413. See also the Prefaces to Myth. Vol. I. and III.

P. 398. ^e Several writers of eminence suppose Ararat to have been a mountain in Scythia. See Martin Luther, Enarrat. in Genes. p. 105. —Gorop. Becanus, Indo-Scy-

thica, p. 479. — Wise on the first inhabitants of Europe, p. 8. &c.

Sect. III. p. 399. ² Myth. Vol. III. p. 24.

P. 405. ¹ Bochart. Geog. Sacr. p. 257.

P. 406. ^m Bochart. p. 260. Hyde Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 41, 42.—Myth. Vol. III. p. 64.—Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. p. 230.

P. 410. ^o Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. p. 233.—Bedford's Scripture Chron. p. 254.

Sect. IV. P. 414. ^b Observations, on the misquotations, the wilful inconsistency, the perversions of history, the wrong zeal of Josephus, and of the fathers, occur repeatedly in the Mythology, as well as in Dr. Jackson and other writers. See Myth. Vol. III. p. 101, 105, 106, 107, 351, 352, 354, &c. Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. p. 413, &c.

P. 415. ^c Jackson's Chron. Vol. III. p. 2. Dodwell on Sanconiathon, Lond. 1691.—Wise on the first inhabitants &c. of Europe, p. 54.

P. 416. ^d Wise on the Chronology of the Fabulous ages, p. 35.—Jackson's Chron. Vol. II. p. 94. Stillingfleet Orig. Sacr. book i. c. 2.

P. 419. ^e Arrian. Exped. Alexand. lib. iii. c. 16. lib. vii. c. 16, 17.

P. 420. ^f Jackson's Chron. Vol. I. p. 196. et seq. — Myth. Vol. III. from p. 95. to 126.

Sect. V. P. 436. ^b Myth. Vol. I. p. 215. — Apology, p. 81.

P. 446. ⁱ Dr. Jackson, (Vol. I. p. 226.) considers the Hebrew, Phœnician, Chaldee, Syrian, Arabian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian, to be only different dialects of the same language. He, as well as Bochart (p. 57.) and many others, who have delivered their opinions on the an-

tiquity of languages, consider the Greek as later than any of these. But our learned author, in his *Apology*, p. 67. after asserting, without giving any authority, that the Greek is older than the Arabic and Persian, says, “ If I “ am under a mistake, I believe, that ninety-nine out of “ an hundred will be found in the same predicament.” Indeed I fancy it may be fairly reversed; the ninety-nine will be against him, in respect at least to the Arabic. I have every reason for believing the Persian to have been also of extreme antiquity: and I have given some reasons for thinking so, in the preceding part of the Dissertation, (p. 11. et seq. 103, 238, 251.) but as it is impossible to speak decisively, till the discovery of some undoubted ancient manuscripts, I shall dwell no longer upon it at present.

P. 449. ⁱ Abulgazi Khan Hist. Tartar, p. 44, and 473.

P. 453. ^l Mythol. Vol. II. p. 58, 60, et seq. 83, 206. et seq. 209, 236, 247, 253, et seq. 274, 278, 450, et passim.

P. 455. ^m Vol. II. 492. et seq.

P. 460. ^{n o p q} “ What are we to understand, (says our learned author, Vol. III. p. 135.) “ by Scythia? It “ is an unlimited, undefined term, under which Grecian “ ignorance sheltered itself.” Vid. also from p. 143 to 232.

P. 464. ^t D’Herbelot, p. 65.

P. 465. ^u Myth. Vol. III. p. 134.

P. 467. See also the Mythology passim: and this Dissertation, p. 427, 447, 452, &c. Sir Roger Dowlas was actually the name by which the Nabob Suraja Dowla was generally called in Admiral Watson’s fleet.

P. 468. Myth. Vol. II. p. 57. et seq. Vol. III. p. 104. and this Dissertation. p. 422.

P. 471. ^b Our author has, in several passages of his *Apology*, told me that I had borrowed from his *Analysis* a *great deal* indeed. I shall now proceed to consider what this *great deal* amounts to: and just observe, *en passant*, that I not only gave him credit for every line worth mentioning, but made a general acknowledgment in a Note on p. 32 (p. 38 of this edition) in case, from inadvertency, I had any where mistaken or omitted my references. This, I really supposed, was all that was necessary on such occasions; and more than was common: but, as the learned gentleman thinks differently, I shall descend to particulars.

[It may be proper to premise, that, by the division of this edition into sections, and a few additions, the folios differ from the former. I shall therefore distinguish the first by ^a, and the second by ^b]

My obligations to the learned gentleman will be found to consist almost entirely of the discordant histories and eras of the Greek writers; with which it would be easy, without the least assistance from any man, to fill volumes, instead of a few lines.—The *first* which occurs is in the note on p. 11 ^a. p. 13 ^b. with regard to the disagreements on Zoroaster; several of which, without thinking it of consequence to search deeper, I adopted from the *Analysis*, Vol. II. p. 108. et seq.—The *second* is the little story of Lyfimachus and the Greek historian, p. 33 ^a. 41 ^b. for which I find I have not given him credit. It is in Vol. I. p. 100.—The *third* is the idea of the piracy of the ancient Greeks (p. 45, 46 ^a. p. 54, 55 ^b.) which I really cannot consider as either new or important: but it will be found in Vol. III. p. 548.—The *fourth* is in p. 68 ^a. p. 82 ^b. in relation to some discordant dates of

Queen Semiramis ; and here there is a wrong reference : for Vol. II. p. 97, read p. 103.—The *fifth*, of which he takes particular notice (*Apology*, p. 83.) is the Argonautic Expedition. It may be observed, that the chief idea (p. 71^a. p. 83^b.) relative to Sir Isaac Newton's mistake in respect to the constellation Argo, is originally Dr. Rutherford's, whom I quoted. Most of the discordant facts in the subsequent paragraph, will be found in the *Analysis*, Vol. II. from p. 475 to 494. But his chain of reasoning, to which he alludes, I could not follow ; because I have the misfortune to differ from him in almost the whole hypothesis, which those facts are intended to establish. — The *sixth* is the idea (p. 73^a. 87^b.) that Shishak and Sesostris were not the same person. — The *seventh* is the substance of the note on the Argonautic Expedition, p. 73^a. p. 87^b.—The *eighth* is the six concluding lines of note on p. 84^a. p. 100^b. on the different manner of expressing Mount Ararat. The learned gentleman has indeed done me the honour of claiming the whole, amounting to about sixty lines : and he has also made me debtor for the note on p. 8^a. p. 9^b. not one line of which is to be discovered in the *Analysis*. The readings of Ararat were taken from *Myth*. Vol. III. p. 3. and Bochart, p. 20. but, on examining more closely into them, I have reason to think, that I have been misled by such great authorities : for I have found the words very different in the Polyglot Bible, as well as in the Lexicons ; and I have taken the liberty of altering them accordingly (p. 250). In the former edition, they stood as follows : “ Ararat, the mountain where the ark
“ rested after the flood, is called by Jeremiah *Ararat*
“ *Minni* : by Amos *Harmunah* : the Chaldee Paraphrast
“ makes it *Armini* : the Samaritan *Hararat* : the Vulgate



“ *Armon* : and the Septuagint *Remmon*. In other places “ it is written *Monah*, *Mona*, *Mini*, *Miniyas*, &c.” Any gentleman who is judge of the subject may compare them with Walton’s Polyglot Bible, Gen. viii. 5. &c. With regard, in particular, to the *הרמונה* *Harmunah* of Amos, consult the Sacred Writings, and Buxtorf’s Hebrew Lexicon, under *אַרְמוֹן* *Armun* ; where it is translated *a palace* ; and has no affinity with Mount Ararat. As *a palace*, indeed, it is uniformly rendered in the Old Testament ; see 1 Kings xvi. 18. Isaiah xiii. 22. Amos i. 4. iv. 3. vi. 8.

THE above, I am pretty confident, constitutes the *great deal*, which I have borrowed from the learned gentleman ; and the reader will determine how far they have enriched my little Essay. I have only further to observe, that the omission of giving the learned gentleman as my authority for those consequential points, mentioned in the *second* and *third* articles, and the error of folio in the *fourth* ; are to be imputed merely to the haste with which the whole was written : the time employed in it being but a few straggling hours, snatched at times from the compilation of my Dictionary ; which employed me, almost incessantly, during fifteen months, above sixteen hours a day.

AND now I take my leave ; and, I hope, a final one, of controversy. It is the first in which I have ever been engaged ; and I religiously purpose it shall be the last.

Wadham College, Oxford,

June 22d. 1778.

THE END.

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
description of the country and its resources.
2. The second part contains a list of the principal
industries and occupations of the people.
3. The third part is a list of the principal
cities and towns of the country.
4. The fourth part is a list of the principal
rivers and lakes of the country.
5. The fifth part is a list of the principal
mountains and hills of the country.
6. The sixth part is a list of the principal
ports and harbors of the country.
7. The seventh part is a list of the principal
roads and highways of the country.
8. The eighth part is a list of the principal
canals and waterways of the country.
9. The ninth part is a list of the principal
mines and quarries of the country.
10. The tenth part is a list of the principal
forests and parks of the country.

